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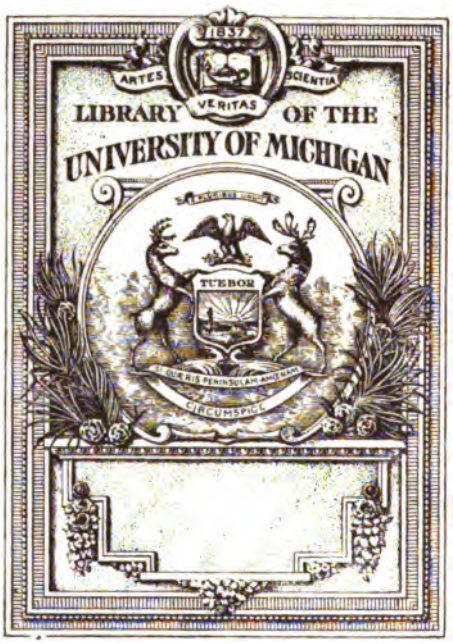
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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE

ACADEMY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Volume II] APRIL, 1912 [Number 3

NATIONAL HOUSING ASSOCIATION

(PROCEEDINGS OF THE FIRST NATIONAL HOUSING CONFERENCE
HELD IN NEW YORK, JUNE 3, 5 AND 6, 1911)

THE ACADEMY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, NEW YORK
1912

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PUBLISHED QUARTERLY BY
THE ACADEMY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE
COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
116TH STREET AND BROADWAY, NEW YORK

Entered as second-class matter Nov. 21, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the Act of Congress, July 16, 1894.

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PROCEEDINGS

OF THE ACADEMY OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

The **Proceedings** are issued by the Academy as a record of its activities and as a means of giving detailed treatment to special subjects of importance. Each volume consists of four numbers, published in January, April, July and October. Two numbers of about two hundred pages each are devoted to the scientific treatment of special subjects, and consist in part of papers read at the meetings of the Academy. The third number contains an important address or a short monograph, and the April number is the annual report of the Academy.

The contents of the various numbers of the Proceedings are as follows:

Volume I (1910–1911) consists of four numbers:

I. The Economic Position of Women
II. The Reform of the Currency
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Volume II. (1911–1912) consists of four numbers:

I. Capital and Labor Unified.
II. Business and the Public Welfare.
III. National Housing Association.
IV. Organization for Social Work. *[In press.]*

Separate copies of the Proceedings may be obtained in paper covers at $1.50 each, except Vol. II, No. 1, price of which is fifty cents. Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 4 and Vol. II, Nos. 2, 3 and 4, may also be had in cloth at $2.00 each.

Communications in reference to the Proceedings should be addressed to the editor, **Henry Raymond Mussey,** Columbia University. Subscriptions should be forwarded and all business communications addressed to the Secretary of the **Academy of Political Science,** Columbia University. Members of the Academy receive the Proceedings without further payment.

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PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS OF WELCOME

ROBERT W. DE FOREST

New York City

THE National Housing Association did not spring full grown, armed with a complete constitution and a full set of by-laws, from anyone's fertile brain. Like most movements which accomplish anything it grew naturally from a small and feeble infancy to its present proportion of manhood. Housing reform in New York began more than fifty years ago. The Tenement House Committe of the Charity Organization Society, which is largely responsible for the organization of this association, was only one of several successive bodies, public and private, that undertook to deal with the housing problems of New York, and these problems received attention in New York earlier and to a greater degree than elsewhere because the evils of bad housing reached a climax in New York before they were seriously felt in any other city of the new world.

To summarize briefly the steps which led to the organization of this national society, without going back too far, the Tenement House Committee of the Charity Organization Society was instrumental in creating the New York State Tenement House Commission of 1900, appointed by President Roosevelt when he was governor of the state of New York. That commission was instrumental in securing the enactment of the present New York tenement house law, applicable to all cities of the first class in that state, and for the creation of the tenement house department of the city of New York. When the state commission disbanded most of its members continued their activities as the committee of the Charity Organization Society.

Knowledge of this successful movement in New York naturally brought inquiries from elsewhere. Indeed, in framing the law, investigation elsewhere had been made, and the Tenement House Committee found itself applied to from all parts of

the country for information and for assistance in the cause of housing reform in other cities. Different local organizations were formed. Finally these inquiries became so general and came from so many different parts of the country that it was practically impossible for a New York committee organized solely with regard to New York to deal with the many problems and questions which were brought up. Hence the idea of a national association; hence the necessity for some national association to coördinate the different movements which were taking place in this direction, throughout the whole breadth of the country.

That, in a word, is the condition which produced this association, and it was sought to bring into this association from all parts of the country those who were most intelligently interested in this subject, those who knew most about it, those whose advice would be of most value; and the desire for information on this subject has so increased that the idea suggested itself of having this housing conference. So far as I know, no one was especially invited to this conference unless he had special interest in housing reform, but it is quite remarkable to find that we have here, either actually present in this hall or intending to be present during some of these sessions, not less than one hundred and twenty-three different people. It is also interesting to notice the different groups of persons who have come together from whom this audience has been gathered. These naturally include the charity workers, but charity workers by no means constitute the bulk of this conference. There are architects, there are representatives of chambers of commerce and trade associations, there are professional men, and there are city officials who are engaged in dealing directly, by reason of their city duties, with subjects germane to this conference. They have all met to consider the subjects which are down on this program. It is quite remarkable to notice the rapidity with which this movement for housing reform is spreading through the country. Do not understand me to mean for a moment that the organization of this national association has produced that movement. The movement existed, and the national association exists because the movement exists, but the movement is growing with great rapidity.

A PROGRAM OF HOUSING REFORM

LAWRENCE VEILLER

I SUPPOSE a program of housing reform should really be as comprehensive as the first article of the constitution of our own National Housing Association, *viz.*, "the improvement of housing conditions both urban and suburban in every way practicable."

While a housing program should be thus broadly comprehensive, at the same time it should be as definite and precise as those very housing laws which we are urging people to enact.

I shall try to outline in the short time there is this afternoon what seem to me to be the essential principles of such a program, and if I do not adequately cover the ground it is not because I do not realize what the ground is, but because of the inadequacy of the time at my disposal on this occasion.

A program of housing reform suggests something that needs to be changed; it suggests remedies for existing conditions. I assume that we all agree that before we can say what the remedies shall be, we must know the conditions. We none of us, I take it, are in that benighted state of medical education where we want to treat symptoms; we must, however, know what the symptoms are. Our first task, therefore, in formulating a program is to discover the actual conditions, the symptoms, and then our second duty is to discover the causes for those conditions, and like modern practitioners, proceed to remove the causes.

Following that line of thought, the question at once suggests itself, "How are we to find out the facts?" Only by patient, careful investigation. There is no other way, no royal road to progress, no ready specific that will spare us the effort and the expense involved in such investigation. And it is good that this is so.

Every community needs to find out for itself that it does not know the facts about itself, to realize that it has been living in darkness, that hundreds, and even thousands of its citizens are living under conditions such as the wildest efforts of their imaginations could not have conceived to be existent in their community. The awakening at first is a bitter one. The dream has been so pleasant—it was so comfortable to be able to say, "Our city is a city of homes—we have no slums," that the first feeling is a dazed one, the sensibilities of the community are shocked.

The first step therefore is the organization of the community so that it may undertake such an inquiry, that it may educate itself.

Here, broad statesmanlike views are of great importance. We must recognize that we are not sallying forth as amateurs on a pleasant holiday excursion into sociological realms, but are embarking upon a movement fraught with the most serious consequences to the community; that upon the intelligence, earnestness, wisdom and devotedness of our efforts, will depend the health, the welfare and the social and economic progress of literally thousands of our fellow citizens. Such a movement is not to be undertaken lightly; if we do not care enough about it to be willing to devote effort, thought and money to it for many years, we had better leave it alone until some group of citizens can be found who realize that it, like marriage, is "for life," and are willing to enlist in the cause for an indefinite period.

Establish, therefore, at the start a permanent movement for housing reform—either as a new separate society or as part of some existing organization, whose work is naturally allied to an undertaking of this kind. The former course is generally the better in the long run, although the latter has distinct advantages. The important thing to do is to enlist the leading business men of your city, to ally this movement with the Chamber of Commerce or Board of Trade, to make it above all things a practical movement. If we are to succeed, our methods, aims and suggestions must commend themselves to practical men.

Having established such a movement, and having enlisted in

the cause those persons and interests that are likely to be most helpful, the next step is a social investigation which will disclose the actual conditions existing in your city.

We must not forget, however, the purpose we have in view, *viz.*, to find remedies that will bring about better conditions, and our inquiry must be undertaken always with that definite purpose in mind. Such an investigation should generally take from three months to a year, depending on the size and character of the city. It will concern itself primarily with the living conditions of those members of the community who are least able to protect themselves, that is, with the factory workers and especially the alien population. It is with these parts of the community that trouble is generally to be found.

Such an investigation having been completed, the next step is the education of the community. The facts discovered must be made known and their significance brought home. This is to be done in a variety of ways; primarily through a printed report, which above all things should be readable and interesting, with a very generous use of photographs of the typical conditions disclosed. In no way can money be spent so advantageously as in securing good photographs of the worst conditions. And here a word of caution may be not amiss. We should not attempt to save money by using amateur work. It is only money wasted. Let us be sure, however, that our investigator always accompanies the professional photographer, otherwise we shall get good photographs but not ones that illustrate the points we want. No ordinary photographer can conceive that a vile vault filled with indescribable filth, or some alley piled high with garbage and rubbish, is a fit subject for a photograph. Nor should there be hesitation in publishing pictures of the worst conditions, unpleasant though they may be. It is a false modesty which dictates their suppression. In no other way can the community realize the conditions under which many of its members live.

In addition to the report, sometimes an exhibit of the results of the investigation is well worth while. Part of it displayed in the window of the principal department store will attract wide attention to the larger exhibit held in the assembly room of

some central meeting place. Lectures with lantern slides, newspaper articles and editorials, personal interviews—all play an important part in the educational campaign. Most important of all, however, is a carefully organized series of personal visits around the slums to see at first hand the typical conditions, taking with us the people we want to influence—editors, reporters, legislators, aldermen, business men, club women, society leaders, labor men, whoever it may be.

The next step after the education of the community is the effort to secure legislation which will remedy, so far as practicable, the evil conditions discovered, and will prevent their repetition in the future.

This is generally the most difficult part of the whole movement. The drafting of such laws is not an easy task. It taxes one's best powers and calls for technical skill, wisdom, patience, foresight, clear vision. Especially is it necessary to put aside provincialism and be willing to be guided by the experience of older communities which have successfully coped with similar problems. Above all, we should be on our guard against taking short views, against being content with low standards. The smaller the community the easier it should be to take an advanced position, because housing evils have become less entrenched there, and the hardship involved in more stringent legislation will be but slightly felt. This would seem obvious to us all, but I am constantly surprised to find views directly opposed to this generally held in the smaller communities. One often hears it said: "Of course we cannot expect to have our laws as stringent as those of the larger cities like New York and Chicago, because our conditions are not so bad." To illustrate: It is impossible, in a city like New York, to limit the height of future non-fireproof tenement houses to three or four stories. Owing to high land values it is necessary to permit such houses to be built six stories high. Yet in most American cities where land values are very much less, it is entirely feasible to limit such height to three stories, and in others to four stories. Yet frequently we find people in such communities believing that they cannot make their laws more stringent than those of New York.

Similarly with regard to percentage of lot that may be occupied. In a city like New York it is impracticable to require more than thirty per cent of an interior lot to be left unbuilt upon, but in many cities forty and even fifty per cent is entirely feasible. As a matter of fact, the present practise in most cities, so far as one can judge, is nearer the fifty per cent basis than the thirty. Here, again, the smaller community can safely enact more stringent requirements. Failure to realize this means disaster. No surer way of getting bad conditions could be devised than failing to put up the bars high enough to shut out the invading host.

Having secured legislation, many housing reformers think they have accomplished what they sought to do, whereas, in fact, they have just begun. Heretofore they have been preparing the soil, and this is seed time, not harvest. If they want to get the fruits of their efforts they must be prepared to stay at the work for many years to come. How often have we seen important laws completely nullified through lack of enforcement. Housing reform in this respect differs somewhat from other great social causes inasmuch as there is always an interested opposition ready to take advantage of the slightest relaxation on the part of the community. Eternal vigilance is indeed the price of liberty in this field.

Moreover, there are great opportunities to be taken advantage of. The next step, therefore, is to see to it that the housing laws which have been obtained with such difficulty are properly enforced. They are sure to be not properly enforced unless the people responsible for them do stand by and prod and aid the public officials. The ways in which they can help are manifold. In the first place, laws often, even when clearly drawn, are susceptible of different interpretation by different persons. The public official who has to enforce them may have had no knowledge of the conditions which led to their enactment or of the considerations involved in framing them, and may place an entirely different interpretation upon them from what was intended, either causing unnecessary hardship to owners and architects, or unconsciously defeating some of the law's primary purposes.

Again, the public official often needs the support of the most influential members of the community in insisting that the new laws shall be fully enforced. In many communities while there have been housing laws on the statute books for many years they have been dead letters, and when it is proposed to enforce them there generally spreads over the community a storm of opposition which vents itself upon the official responsible for their enforcement. He would not be human if he did not respond to this wave of public sentiment.

It is vitally important, therefore, to see that there is a counter-wave of sympathy insisting that the new law shall be enforced, and enforced in all respects. It is interesting to see how quickly selfish opposition is beaten down when a strong, disinterested support for these reforms is made manifest.

Moreover, much of the opposition which arises is through ignorance. Owners and builders have been told by persons who are seeking to defeat the legislation that the law is impracticable and have been led to believe all sorts of extraordinary things about its operation. They need to be talked to and reasoned with by the friends of the law, who can sit down with them and show them how the law actually works. It is extraordinary what beneficial results flow from this frank, friendly meeting on neutral ground of those who would otherwise be enemies.

In addition to these ways in which those interested in the improvement of housing conditions can be helpful at this particular period of the movement's development, is the important part they can play in securing for the branches of the city government responsible for the enforcement of the law, adequate financial support from the city authorities to enable them to do their work. None of us can work without tools, and the tools of the public official are men and money. He must have the money before he can have the men. Without the men he can do little.

Let us beware of the experience of an important city in the East, where after much effort an important housing law was enacted and the good citizens who had brought it about sat down content, expecting that the inspector of buildings would

see that it was properly enforced. They were much surprised some years later to learn from a visitor to their city who found the laws unenforced, that their building inspector had no assistants and spent his entire time in his office, practically never going out to see whether the buildings were being built according to law or not. Under these circumstances an improved housing law is not of very great advantage except possibly as marking an expression on the part of the community of what it believes its standard should be.

The steps we have hitherto considered—investigation, education, legislation and enforcement—are the big, vital steps in the movement for housing reform in every city. Before conditions have been made adequate probably many years will elapse and until these particular things have been done it is generally unwise to develop other forms of remedial effort, but these may be very appropriately developed after the essential matters have been achieved. Bearing this in mind, we may consider further phases of our program.

Of first importance is the consideration of the types of houses utilized in the community for the housing of the working people, and a consideration of whether new types might not be developed and encouraged through private enterprise. Sometimes there is a real dearth of proper housing accommodations for the working people and this must necessarily be met at an early stage of the movement's development.

What is the best type for one city is not necessarily the best type for another. The question can be determined only after careful study of local conditions, of local land values, of the cost of building, the prevailing rentals, the habits and desires of the people, of what they have become accustomed to in the way of housing accommodation.

In New York city, unfortunately, the tenement house is practically the one type that is possible to-day except in the outlying sections, and it is questionable whether even in those parts of the city anything but the tenement house can be expected. But this condition is strictly peculiar to New York. There is no other city in America where such conditions prevail, no other city where the tenement house is a necessity as

the chief type of dwelling for the working population of that city. Even in Chicago, which in recent years has been built up so extensively with tenement houses, even there the small house is still practicable. So it is in all our other American cities.

The type of small house that can be built and rented at rentals within the means of the working population necessarily varies in different cities. In some cities where land values are high, single-family houses can not be built which will rent at reasonable rentals and be commercially profitable, but two-family houses can. This is an excellent type of house and one to be encouraged wherever land values are so high that the single-family house can not be successfully built.

The two-family house is primarily of two kinds—one the double house with a party wall in the middle, with separate entrances on each side and each family having one-half the house throughout the entire building. The other type is that in which one family has the ground floor and possibly the basement, and a second family has the second floor, or sometimes the second and third floors, with separate entrances for each family.

The great advantage of the two-family house is that generally the owner occupies half of it and sees to it that the house is well maintained and properly kept up. He generally is able to get his rent free by means of the return from the other half of the house.

Where land values are not so high that two-family houses or tenements are essential, but where they are too high for the development of the detached one-family house with land around it, there is still possible the one-family house built in rows, the type of house which the city of Philadelphia has developed with such extraordinary success. Building these on a narrow frontage of fifteen feet, as is done in that city, and having the lot only about forty feet deep, it is possible to erect houses of this kind; and by having the operation on a large scale and building rows of a great many at once, so to cheapen construction that these houses are quite within the reach of the average working man. As is well known, houses of this kind are built in Philadelphia to-day,—brick houses, two stories high, with

good cellar and comprising four rooms and bath, which sell with the land and with all improvements for about two thousand dollars a house.

What Philadelphia has done every other city in the United States can do except New York and possibly Boston. We should hear no more talk of tenements in our other cities, model tenements or others. Let our philanthropists who wish to build houses for the working man do it by all means, but let them build small houses, not gigantic barracks of tenements. The tenement is neither necessary nor desirable.

Another form of useful effort is in the formation of companies for the management of workingmen's houses. Many of the bad conditions which prevail are due to lack of proper management. The problem in many of our cities is sanitary, not structural. It is the problem of good housekeeping; and successful management is the best way to overcome these evils, plus of course always proper supervision by the health authorities. It is not safe to trust to enlightened self-interest alone, as there will always be a considerable number of landlords who cannot be relied upon to administer their property properly.

Management of workingmen's houses is both a science and an art. We have to learn the business and should realize, before undertaking work of this kind, that it is not so easy a task as it appears on the surface. It has generally been found that women make far more successful managers of such property than men, and a new field opens for the social worker in this direction—"friendly rent collecting," as it is called in England, where it was started many years ago, and has been carried on so efficiently by Miss Octavia Hill and her associates and disciples. It is not unknown in this country, and wherever it has been tried in America it has proved uniformly successful.

Closely allied to these forms of effort is the attempt to bring about the improvement of the older dwellings in an organized way. This can be done in several ways. The one which has been most generally adopted has been to buy up some old property and gradually improve it, attempting to keep the same tenants in the building where possible. Such tenants

have generally been found to respond to the improved environment.

Another successful way, and it seems to me a better one, is to buy up such old property, put out all the tenants, radically improve the property so far as it will stand the expense, and then sell the renovated building to a new owner. As one house or row of houses is thus put in condition and disposed of advantageously at a profit, those engaged in the operation are free to invest their capital in another row of houses and repeat this work continuously. The capital thus invested is live capital and is constantly being turned over and increased. The efforts of the group of people engaged in this particular phase of housing reform are thus multiplied a hundredfold and their area of influence greatly increased. This form of effort is especially successful when there has been organized in the same city a company to see that workingmen's houses are properly managed; thus one group puts the houses in condition and leaves their management to a second group, until ultimately all of the houses of the city have been put and are kept in proper condition.

As an outcome of this movement for better management of workingmen's houses, comes naturally a plan for the selection of tenants. A good manager will not take into his house tenants whom he knows to be destructive or disorderly. It is bad policy to do so; it means loss of rents through bad debts, it means deterioration of property and it means generally the driving out of the better tenants from the house. None of these things is desirable, either from the point of view of the owner of the property, or from the point of view of the community, or of the tenants' welfare. Tenants who are orderly, pay their rent promptly and are careful of the property should be protected from either disorderly or disreputable neighbors. Nothing is easier. It is perfectly simple for any landlord to find out all about prospective tenants before he takes them in, just as a visitor of an associated charities finds out about the poor who come to it for aid, by going to the places where the family last lived and making inquiries as to its reputation and character.

To be most effective, work of this kind should be carried on in an organized way by which there will be a practical clearing house for landlords, who could thus make a white list of the good tenants and keep track of the tenants who are undesirable. In a short time practically all tenants in each community would become listed. It would then be a very simple matter, requiring almost no investigation but simply a telephone inquiry, for a landlord to find out whether a prospective tenant was desirable or not.

Similarly a clearing house for tenants might be advantageously established, so that respectable working people might have some place at which to apply in order to get information as to the best houses in the city that are for rent upon the most reasonable terms and in which the owners are known to be fair in their treatment of tenants and to see that the houses are kept in proper condition. Where a town is well organized from a labor-union point of view, such effort could be best developed in active coöperation with the labor unions, who necessarily represent, as a rule, the best paid and most intelligent elements of the working community.

Where such efforts are started there will naturally develop a movement for the education of the tenant. None of us who is familiar with the housing evils which prevail in our large cities can fail to recognize that many of them are due to the habits of the tenants,—due largely to ignorance of proper methods of living and especially to a lack of sanitary standards. Nothing is more urgently needed in every American city than an organized effort for the education of the tenant in the fundamental principles of rational methods of living.

There are several ways in which this can be brought about. The most effective is through personal influence and here there is a tremendous opportunity for intelligent women. No field of social work offers greater chances than this. Every city should have on its health-department staff a woman sanitary inspector, whose chief function shall be the education of the tenants, a sort of combined visiting nurse and sanitary inspector, but who, unlike either visiting nurse or sanitary inspector as we know them in most cities, does not simply visit families upon

complaint or request, but who spends her time systematically visiting the homes of the poor, going from house to house, from door to door, from apartment to apartment, one after another, getting acquainted with the families, winning their confidence and gradually bringing home to them in practical ways the best methods of living from a sanitary point of view. At the same time she will see that the unsanitary conditions which she discovers are promptly remedied; where the landlord is responsible, forcing him, through orders from the health department, to clean up and remedy the bad conditions; where the tenant is responsible, leading her, through education and persuasion, to change her habits, and where this is impracticable, forcing her through fear of the law to live in a more cleanly and decent way.

Wherever a woman inspector has been appointed to do work of this kind—and a number of cities have taken up this form of effort—her success has been immediate and emphatic. We shall come to see in a few years that the work of our health departments is more along these lines than along any other, and I predict that the time will soon come when every city will have on its health staff not only one but a corps of women sanitary inspectors. It is essentially woman's work.

More difficult than the education of the tenant is the education of the landlord and the builder, but hopeless as this may seem to some it is not to be despaired of. Landlords are still human, even though they are landlords, and can be trusted to respond to the same influences to which most men respond; only before we can impress upon a man that we know more about managing his property than he does we must know more. We must be able to show him in terms that he will understand the advantages to be gained by the methods of management which we urge him to substitute for those which he has followed for so many years.

Similarly, there is much successful work that can be done in educating builders, in showing them new methods of construction which can be advantageously adopted, new conveniences which can be provided for the future occupants of workingmen's houses, which will make the houses more attractive.

An excellent illustration of this is had in New York's tenement houses. Here in recent years it has been noticed that the sinks which have been supplied in the kitchens are entirely too low and cause women much inconvenience, if not injury to health, by having to stoop over to too great an extent. The mere calling of this matter to the attention of sink manufacturers, plumbers and builders of new tenement houses would unquestionably bring about an improvement.

Similarly, through private effort, we can encourage builders to utilize open iron fences between their houses, like the "hairpin" fence of the Philadelphia small house, rather than the unsightly wooden fences which prevail in many cities. This will mean a great improvement for the neighborhood, because yards will be kept in a more tidy condition when they can be seen by the neighbors, there will be a freer circulation of air throughout the interior of the block, and in every way conditions will be materially improved.

In cities where the tenement house prevails, the intelligent janitor is the important element in the effort to bring about successful and efficient management. A training school for janitors which will instruct them not only in the theory of their work but in the practical side of it, would be a most profitable development in many cities. The time is not so far distant when we may look forward, I confidently predict, to the establishment of a sanitary institute where janitors of multiple dwellings may be trained in all the problems which apply to such buildings, and where, in addition, our health inspectors and other government officials performing similar functions may secure a thorough course of practical training before taking up their important duties. The effort to bring about such conditions might well occupy the attention of housing reformers as part of our program.

I have said little hitherto about congestion and overcrowding, and many of my auditors may be surprised that I have made no mention thus far of city planning or of garden cities as an important development, nor have I alluded to the importance of developing our transit facilities as a means of solving the housing problem.

I am not unmindful of the great interest which exists with regard to these subjects, nor of their relation to the housing problem, but they are not the immediate problem, or the immediate remedies with which housing reformers have to deal in the great majority of American cities. Outside of New York city and some parts of Boston and a few isolated and limited areas in some of the other cities, there is practically no problem of congestion in any of our American cities to-day, using the term in its proper sense of land overcrowding. I do not mean to say that there are not in all cities problems due to uneconomic use of land; for instance, the crowding of small houses too close together so that they darken each other while adjacent to them is land which is worse than wasted, a catch-all for refuse of every description. There is, too, in many of our smaller cities, a tendency on the part of some real estate owners to build tenements of the worst types though there is abundance of vacant land for small houses. These all must be guarded against. Yet with them clearly in mind it may be said that the housing problem of most American cities is largely a sanitary one and the nation's housing problem may be said to-day to be in great degree the problem of the alley, the problem of the vault and general uncleanliness. These are the three great national manifestations of bad housing conditions as they prevail to-day, and it is clearly unwise for us as housing reformers to focus our attention upon a particular problem like that of congestion, which does concern us very much in New York but which is of little moment at the present time in the majority of our cities.

The same thing cannot be said of room overcrowding. This is a problem which is common to all American cities, appearing at the present time, it is true, only to a slight extent and in isolated instances in most cities but still a problem which should be met and dealt with adequately. It is but one phase of the numerous details of the sanitary regulation of workingmen's dwellings with which our housing laws should deal.

Room overcrowding, as we know it in America (always excepting New York) is still quite capable of being adequately dealt with through very simple laws, if strictly enforced, but there

must be a well-developed body of public sentiment in each community calling for their enforcement before this can be done.

The garden-city movement is a most important one. Every effort should be made to encourage and develop it. But for my part I feel clear that it is unwise for those who are taking up housing reform as a new problem to allow their attention to be diverted from the fundamental and primary necessities of decent housing for the poorest elements of the community by the attractiveness of what must necessarily, for many years to come, be a development for the better-paid members of the community, and essentially a suburban or rural one. City planning vitally affects the housing problem and should be given the closest attention.

The problem which presses upon us and cries aloud for immediate solution, however, is the problem of the city slum, and we cannot wisely or fairly, in my judgment, divert effort toward some of the more interesting and attractive forms of housing until we have dealt with this serious social menace which threatens to overwhelm American institutions if not adequately met.

SUMMARY

1. Form Citizens Committee.
   Local Housing Association.
2. Make Investigation of Housing Conditions.
3. Education of the Community.
4. Secure Remedial and Preventive Legislation.
5. Aid Law Enforcement.
6. Provide Right Types of Workingmen's Houses.
7. Organize Better Management of Workingmen's Houses.
8. Improvement of the Older Houses.
9. Selection of Tenants—Clearing House for Landlords.
10. Clearing House for Tenants.
11. Education of Tenants.
12. Education of Landlords and Builders.
13. Training Schools for Janitors and Inspectors.
14. Congestion and Room Overcrowding.
15. Garden Cities.
16. City Planning.
17. Improved Transit Facilities.

THE PROBLEM OF THE SMALL HOUSE

OTTO W. DAVIS

Superintendent Associated Charities, Columbus, Ohio

THOSE of you who received last month the report of the Tenement House Department of New York city for 1909 will recall, if you looked it through, the argument against changing the definition of a tenement house so as to make the law applicable only to buildings containing four or more families instead of three or more as at present. The writer refers to "the startling conditions discovered by the Tenement House Commission of 1901, . . . the lack of proper water supply, the unlawful basement occupation, the dangerous and broken sewer pipes emitting sewer air, the thousands of dark rooms and halls, the insufficient toilet accommodations," *etc.* To clinch the argument, pictures and floor plans are given of two-family houses showing a suite of four rooms, two of them windowless, and the bath-room likewise unlighted and unventilated. Another plan shows three rooms out of a five-room suite to be dark and the bath-room the same. What wonder that the writer seems to forget his argument and makes what amounts to a plea for raising the standard to include the two-family house when he puts this question: "Does it not seem strange that the tenant who is able to pay a rental of $40 per month should be deprived of the benefit of light and air and obliged to sleep in dark, unventilated bedrooms of the type shown, while his poorer brother who is able to pay only $18 or $20 per month is able to obtain rooms across the street arranged in such a manner that he has all the benefits of light and air, together with superior fire protection?" And, indeed, is it not strange?

It was only natural that housing reformers should have started with the tenements, for their evils were bunched and easy to uncover. But having started there, is there any good reason why we should continue to remain with the tenement? Why is a

dark room any less of an evil when it happens to be in a building arranged for only one or two families? In fact, is there any reason why anybody anywhere should be permitted to construct dark rooms for human habitation? And yet, I am aware of only two large cities where a man cannot build as many windowless rooms as he pleases, provided only that not more than two families live in any one house. (I hope some one will correct this statement if it is wrong.) The type of two-family house described in the report of the New York Tenement House Department is common in many cities. It is frequently the type of house in which the dark room first appears in the smaller city. I doubt if there is a city of 5000 in Ohio today which is free from the two-family house with its dark rooms.

Then there are the other fundamental improvements for which tenement-house reformers have contended: an adequate supply of running water in a sink, toilet facilities, freedom from dampness, proper repairs and cleanliness. The great mass of wage-earners outside of New York city and perhaps one or two other large cities live in one and two-family houses. Have they no need for these same conveniences or are they always supplied?

Columbus may have been more guilty of neglect in this respect than a few other cities, but I am convinced she has been no more neglectful than the great majority. I think of "Sausage Row," eight or ten cheaply constructed four-room houses set flat on the ground. The family occupying the two upper rooms pays $5 per month, the family downstairs pays $6. The only running water is what comes through the roof. There are no toilet facilities, there is no water supply and almost no yard. What little yard there is, is littered with rubbish and ashes.

By what twist of logic do we advocate laws compelling the owner of a three-family house on an adjoining lot to put in running water, clean up his yard and provide a sanitary water-closet for every two families, while at the same time we leave the sixteen neighboring families without a drop of water or a single closet among them? Near by are single houses with conditions no better, but these, too, we have been wont to ignore. Is the

need for water confined to those who live in tenements? Does the necessity for a toilet appear only after we move into a house with three other families? Shall my wife be compelled to forego the luxury of a sink and lug her water from the hydrant in the yard, returning all waste water *via* the same route, just because there are not enough tenements for everybody to live in?

I think we all readily recognize the inconsistency of such a position. Nor can I believe there is a person here, acquainted with conditions in his own city, who does not recognize the prevalence of some if not all of the evils above described. All that has been said of the two-family house can be said with equal truth, (except as to dark rooms), of the single house. "Sausage Row" may be an extreme instance, but it is not an isolated one. Single houses and two-family houses deficient in one or more of the conveniences we consider necessary for tenement houses dot our cities by the thousands. Who has worked among the poor and not seen cellars of single and double houses with water standing in them, sometimes even with sewerage, as I saw only last week in two houses? The most filthy privies I have ever seen were those used in common, by people living in a group of single and double houses.

Whatever may be the relative advantages of the tenement and the smaller house, the fact is that outside of New York city a vast number, probably the great majority, of wage-earners are living and will continue to live for years in single and two-family houses. That the conditions under which they are now permitted to live are unjust and that they menace public health is evident. Just how best to correct present and prevent future evils of this kind has to be demonstrated. In Columbus we have tried to adapt in a logical way to the small house the necessary minimum of requirements regarded in other cities as necessary for the sanitary well-being of the tenement dweller. I think that one reason for the popular interest and successful outcome of our campaign was our cry for well-lighted rooms for everybody, for water and sanitary conveniences for all, for a tight roof on the lowly two-room cottage as well as on the thirty-room tenement, for a little yard

kept clean back of every house,—in a word, for equal protection to all on sanitary matters equally necessary for all.

Why we have so long been neglectful of the dweller in the small house, I can hardly understand. That no comprehensive campaign for better housing conditions can afford to neglect him in the future seems to me so evident as scarcely to deserve statement were it not for our indifference in the past.

HOUSING REFORM THROUGH LEGISLATION

PAUL L. FEISS

Chairman Housing Committee, Chamber of Commerce, Cleveland

HAD the choice of topic been left entirely to me, I am not sure but that I should have chosen the title "Housing Reform Without Legislation," instead of "Housing Reform Through Legislation."

With the broadening scope of legislative control, which is gradually assuming greater and greater proportions, we are beginning to regulate almost every field of human activity, the state thus gradually assuming responsibility. The danger of relieving the individual of his moral responsibility to some extent and transferring the burden to the state, lies in the tendency to weaken the individual conscience, making the written law instead of the moral law the defined limit of transgression. In addition to this, our statute books are becoming such huge encyclopedias of regulations that a vastly greater number of officials is required for their administration, and the danger may threaten of building up a bureaucratic class similar to that which so many European countries are obliged to support. The state and national governments are rapidly becoming more and more paternalistic. However, I realize that our cities have, in a great measure, failed in efficient administration and regulation, and when we find the housing conditions now existent in our large centers of population, we are compelled to use such legal methods as are at hand for correction and prevention.

Under the broad general powers given to health boards and building departments, certain general supervision of housing conditions is possible in most cities; but when we attempt to specialize control in detail, it has usually been found necessary to have a code of regulations clearly defining conditions which shall prevail in all buildings used for human habitation.

The first question the community will have to decide when intent upon housing reform is the division of authority and con-

trol between city and state, and the comparative value of state and municipal codes. There should be a state code defining the minimum of regulation permitted throughout the state, but permitting individual communities to go as much beyond this as they may desire, or as local conditions may demand. A state code will make some control possible in sparsely settled districts and in suburban communities. Here conditions exist and are daily being created which are not allowed in the larger cities adjacent and which will have to be corrected as soon as the corporate limits of the city are extended to include these districts. Villages and outlying districts, while escaping the evils of congestion, frequently have conditions scarcely less serious, and should be under some control. Aside from these advantages the state code has the further good quality of being more permanent. The longer recesses between sessions and the fact that the legislators are drawn from the entire state make for less change, and reduce the influence of the individual groups to whom any housing control is obnoxious. City and town councils meet frequently. Their actions, therefore, through lack of novelty fail to attract public attention to the same extent as legislative sessions and the chances for personal influence at home from daily contact with the neighboring contractor or house-owner are far greater.

However, we do not wish to relieve cities of their share of housing control. While there should be state regulation, there should also be municipal regulation, and at all hazards there should be municipal enforcement. Therefore, cities which have their own housing and tenement codes should attempt to define regulations more minutely than the state code which deals more with general conditions. The municipal code should also consider enforcement, inspection and punishment. A state inspector should be appointed to supervise all territory where no local control is attempted, but no such control should be exercised where local authority exists for the purpose.

The next problem that legislative control will have to consider is the proper agency for local supervision. In large cities a special housing and tenement department would undoubtedly be most desirable, but there are few cities where such a department

could be obtained, so that the choice must be made between the board of health and the building department. In theory and wherever practicable, I believe that the health board should be given entire control of all features relating to occupancy of existing and new buildings and of such correlated matters as plumbing, light, air, ventilation and social control. To the building department should be left all matters relating to construction from the engineering and architectural point of view. In carefully studying all details of the average code relating to housing, we shall find that there are no activities in which this conference is interested which cannot be safely left in the hands of the health board. This relates to all things outside of fire-escapes, and not included in the engineering and architectural matters. While this is the ideal arrangement, this division is not always possible and must frequently be decided by local conditions. In Cleveland it is proposed to give to the building inspector's office all control of new buildings, not only in relation to engineering and architecture, but in relation to construction as it affects occupancy as well, the present statute not permitting health boards to undertake this part of the work. After the building is erected this control passes into the hands of the health board. All changes in existing buildings, however, must have the approval of both the building inspector and the health board and it is proposed to give to both departments power to condemn existing buildings if conditions warrant. No hard and fast general rule can be laid down to cover this point, which must be determined entirely by the local situation.

This must also be said of all the details which will be embodied in any codes that are drawn up for separate communities. Such details as height of building, percentage of lot occupied, minimum width of houses, *etc.*, must be regulated by the history and custom of the community to a large extent. What is possible in one city is not obtainable in another.

At this point the value of the independent agency appears. A committee of citizens who are in no way officially connected with the city or state administration, who are not influenced by any political debt or bias, whose services are given without pay, and are therefore of so much the greater value, can be

of inestimable help in obtaining housing reform. All of the housing reform that has been considered or enacted in the city of Cleveland during the last eight or ten years has been originated or assisted by the housing committee of the Cleveland Chamber of Commerce. The first law enacted in the state legislature empowering cities of the first class to enact their own building code was written and submitted to the legislature by this committee. A subsequent law empowering cities to control conditions in existing buildings also originated with this committee. The enactment by the city of the present building code was stimulated in the same manner. Both the health board and the auxiliary board of the building department draw members from this or similar committees of the Chamber of Commerce, serving without pay. A permanent committee of this kind becomes in a measure expert; through long service it becomes familiar with local conditions, gathers a large amount of statistics and information, and through its permanency is enabled to assist each succeeding administration of the city government with advice based upon experience and stimulated by unselfish motives. Being free from political influence and lending its assistance alike to all political parties, it is in a position to influence not only the officials with whom it comes in contact, but its power to mold public opinion becomes greater and greater as the work proceeds and its own experience matures. Under our present form of city government the independent agency has therefore a necessary and valuable place for influencing and stimulating legislation, and what is just as important, forenforcing legislation. While theoretically there should be no need for this kind of independent activity, yet under our present form of government it is necessary. Looking forward to the utopian condition which our ideal leads us to strive for, I believe that the short ballot with greater individual accountability and responsibility will eventually bring back to the city much of the power which we find necessary to delegate to the state to-day, but until that time arrives, clearly defined regulations will be necessary, to which public officials, house-owners, and residents must be held amenable if any progress is to be made in housing

reform. Back of the whole movement, of course, must be a unified and enthusiastic public opinion which not only shall acquiesce, but shall demand that human beings be permitted to live under conditions consistent with the maximum social and industrial efficiency. This each individual can demand as a human right. We are rapidly beginning to realize this, as this gathering shows; but back of it all we shall find that eventually with proper education the very elements in our communities which to-day are opposed, will conclude that it is profitable to acquiesce in the changes which we are demanding.

The day before leaving Cleveland we received a very interesting report from Miss Chadsey, the new housing inspector, who reported that on one of her inspections she discovered conditions making it necessary for her to threaten the tenants with expulsion in case they did not clean up. Of course, there is no legal basis for such a threat, but she wanted it done. Much to her surprise she is beginning to receive some requests from owners to have their buildings inspected. Perhaps with the tendency toward making the building of tenements more expensive, less of them will be built. They will prove, however, from a business point of view a safer investment. High interest rates are based on a large element of risk, and the same thing is true of high rent. Reduce the risk and you reduce the rent. That is true, but you increase the safety of the investment, and to many people, especially those who are borrowing from banks, that is a very important thing. I believe that we can justify the housing-reform movement to the land-owner on the basis of safety of investment.

I firmly believe that insistence upon better conditions will educate both the owner and the tenant, so that the owner will finally discover that the best conditions bring the safest and most permanent investment, not only in higher rental, but in reduced deterioration; that a proper building will bring forth a sympathetic control from the proper municipal authorities saving his property from destruction. The eventual education of the tenant, which is by no means the least important element of the housing-reform movement, will be found to be of great profit to the owner as well as to the tenant, and therefore to the entire

community. The one advantage that the housing-reform movement has, as compared with other movements of similar kind, is that there is no question about which side public sentiment will take if once aroused, and there are few social agencies where the results are more apparent.

Before closing, I wish to touch upon one matter which has come to my notice during the last few years, when rather intimate work with public officials has given me a point of view which I had not held before, namely, a great sympathy for the public officer who has an honest standard and who really desires to perform his duty efficiently. Under our present system he is working under great disadvantage, hampered by unscrupulous politicians who have great power, inefficient assistants whom he cannot get rid of, archaic laws, and unsympathetic departments upon whom he must depend for much of his assistance. There is much need for legislative reform throughout, and a general improvement in methods of city administration will of course be felt in the tenement department as quickly as in any other under the city's government.

PRIVY VAULTS

Safe Disposal of Bodily Wastes a Necessity

CHARLES B. BALL

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IT has been well said that the amount of soap used in any community affords a ready index to the kind of civilization which that community enjoys. A far better test of community attainment is the degree of care used in the disposal of excrementitious wastes. The bodily refuse from any animal if not promptly removed from about the animal comes speedily to endanger the health, development and life of that animal. The higher the type of organism the greater the offense and the greater the danger caused by the presence of the wastes cast out by that organism, until in man we find the extreme of disgust and repulsion and menace from surroundings in which nuisance of this nature is present.

That feelings of repugnance are not, however, based upon real apprehension of the dangers which come from the exposure of fecal waste is, alas, too true. When the waste from a single human body is not removed and properly disposed of, it may happen that purity of the air, water and food supplies of an entire community are endangered and that disease may be transmitted to some members of that community.

The primitive methods of disposal of such refuse which still prevail in many well-built-up towns and cities in the United States constitute a serious indictment of our progressive civilization. Accumulations of offensive matter in crude excavations in the ground, with only rough shelter houses above them, invite the spread of contagion and render ineffective the most careful labors of the sanitarian and the physician. In our largest and most prosperous cities far too little attention is paid to the protection of privy vaults against fly invasion. Even where sewer facilities are available, few of our cities rigidly insist that

water closets be built to replace the abominable vaults. The day before yesterday I rode across the state of Pennsylvania; I saw hundreds of privy vaults from the train. That is a situation we ought not to have in a state like Pennsylvania.

While the results of this neglect are not fully known, and statistics of the number of privy vaults and of the mortality due to the diseases which they affect are lacking over a large part of the United States, sufficient facts are known to say that we have relatively eight or ten times the number of cases of typhoid fever and deaths therefrom which prevail in the German Empire.

I presume all of you know how defective are our mortality statistics in the United States, how small an area makes any report which is worthy of the name. I remember speaking in a town in Wisconsin not long ago, and we had taken pains to procure from the health officer a statement of the number of deaths; they were reported as 289 for the year. At the end of my talk a gray-haired old gentleman tapped me on the shoulder and said: "I am the principal undertaker here, and I buried 397 last year and there are two other undertakers here that make a living somehow in this town." That is a city within the registration area whose statistics are supposed to be worth while.

THE PREVALENCE OF PRIVY VAULTS

In attempting to ascertain the extent to which privy vaults are found, we are at once confronted with a lack of statistical information. Although it is possible to ascertain with reasonable accuracy what cities and towns are provided with sewerage facilities, it is impossible to determine to what extent these sewerage systems afford facilities to the outskirts of the various cities or to what extent privy vaults are found where sewers are available in these cities. In addition to the localities having sewers there are large areas in the United States, including many villages of considerable size, in which it is known that no sewers exist. It is impossible, however, from present data to determine the proportion of our population which depends upon the use of privies or the proportion of these privies which could by rigid provisions of law be required to be replaced by water closets.

In Chicago we lately made a canvass of our privy-vault situ-

ation. It is not yet completed; it will show, however, that we have about 8,250 privy vaults in Chicago, and that there are about 5,000 of that number for which no sewers are available. Of that 5,000 at present unprovided for about 1,000 will be provided for this year by extension of the sewer system. I am sure that these statistics are bad enough without going into any account of the details. I spent some time trying to see if there were not enough data to give us an idea of the prevalence of privy vaults throughout the United States, but I gave it up. I do not believe anybody can make even an approximate guess.

The only general statistics regarding privy vaults of which I have knowledge were collected by Mr. Burton J. Ashley, of Chicago, from about forty cities. Mr. Ashley obtained authoritative replies usually from the inspector of plumbing of each city. Some of the most noteworthy of these statements were as follows, identifying the city only by its population:

POPULATION	NUMBER OF PRIVY VAULTS	NUMBER OF VAULTS FOR WHICH SEWERS ARE AVAILABLE
350,000	60,000	50,000
240,000	29,000	7,000
490,000	27,000	20,000
300,000	25,000	0
96,000	15,000	10,000
50,000	13,000	500
46,000	6,200	3,000

THE CONSTRUCTION OF PRIVIES

In locations where public sewers are not available, it is practicable to provide for the disposal of sewage from ordinary plumbing by the construction of individual septic tanks and small disposal fields. Many such installations, in satisfactory use at the present time, have been designed by Mr. Burton H. Ashley, of Chicago, an engineer who has given much attention to small plants for the service of a single dwelling. There are doubtless other engineers who have had favorable experience in the design of various means of sewer disposal for single buildings.

Granting, however, that it is still necessary to construct privies in many localities, such appliances may be classified by their location with relation to the surface level, as:

First: Vaults under ground.

Second: Boxes or pails placed above ground.

Privy vaults below the surface of the ground should be made of masonry, either brick or concrete. The masonry wall and floor must be constructed so as to be water-tight, and should also be well plastered on the inside to secure a smooth surface which can be readily washed and cleaned. In form, they should be rectangular, if built of brick. They may be round or oval or with plane sides having rounded corners, if made of concrete. Every underground vault should have its walls built above the surrounding ground surface to a height of at least eight inches in order to prevent the entrance of surface water.

In size, underground vaults should be small rather than large so as to require relatively frequent cleaning. The form and location with respect to the shelter house should allow of cleaning without taking up the floor of the house or, indeed, entering it.

It is thought desirable by some of our most careful sanitarians to guard against soil pollution by prohibiting the construction of privy vaults under ground. A number of cities, foremost of which is Washington, D. C., require that the privy vault should be provided with a platform either of cement, concrete, or wood covered with metal, and having its surface at least six inches above the adjacent level of the ground. Upon this surface is placed a metallic box or pail or a wooden box lined with metal so as to be impervious. These receptacles are necessarily relatively small in size and it is claimed that the frequent cleaning thus imposed is an advantage rather than a disadvantage. The ease with which the condition of such appurtenances may be determined is a strong argument in favor of their use.

THE SHELTER HOUSE

The building placed above either an underground or an above-ground privy should be tightly and well built, should be made

of smooth boards, should have its seats provided with self-closing covers and should have a number of screened, slatted openings for ventilation. There is no precaution which can be observed in the design and construction of such buildings and in their use to which greater importance should be attached than their being properly screened and kept closed so as to prevent the access of flies and mosquitoes. The remarkable results attained by Col. Gorgas in the sanitation of the Canal Zone, resulting in a reduction of the hospitalization for malaria to one-twentieth of its original amount, could never have been attained without large expenditure for screening the barracks and privies of the workmen. More than three-quarters of a million dollars have been thus used since the beginning of the canal work by the American forces, but this large expenditure is amply justified as having made available the services of thousands of workmen who would otherwise have been attacked by disease.

It was my privilege to take a winter vacation in the Canal Zone and I assure you that you would have had your interest stimulated in sanitary matters if you could have seen some of the things done there. I made a field inspection with the chief inspector one day, visiting first the row of barracks, in each of which seventy-two men had been housed the night previous. As we entered the first building the chief inspector inquired: "Has my inspector been here this morning?" The janitor replied: "Yes, he has been here, and he caught two mosquitoes." That merely illustrates the care with which they have attacked malaria on the Zone. When they started in 1904 the hospitalization per week from malaria was one man in twenty of that force, and it is now one in four hundred. The expenditure for screening was three-quarters of a million dollars, which means that they have effectively screened the houses and kitchens and privy vaults. You will agree with me that it is worth while to note the cleanliness of the tropical cities they have there. I saw three tropical cities, Colon, Panama and Port Limon, Costa Rica, the streets of which were cleaner than any ward in the city of Chicago. It is disgraceful that we do not realize the significance of the results obtained down there, but I am sure we are learning from them.

THE REPLACEMENT OF PRIVIES BY WATER CLOSETS

Where sewers are available, every effort should be made to secure the replacement of existing privy vaults with proper water closets. It is in the highest degree desirable that such water closets should be provided within the building instead of in any outside location. This will often mean considerable study to determine the best place for the water closet and will sometimes require an extension of the house to provide suitable compartments.

The three principal reasons why water closets should be placed inside the house are:

First: A proper water closet within the house will have a trap above the floor and thus the main disadvantage of the long hopper fixture is overcome.

Second: An indoor location secures protection of the water supply from freezing, and thus avoids the periods of disuse due to this cause.

Third: The convenience of the users of the fixture is greatly facilitated, unquestionably resulting in their improved health.

If the obstacles to the passage of a law securing indoor locations are too great, the next alternative is to locate a long hopper water closet close to the building with the floor of the compartment on the ground, so as to remove the trap of the closet as short a distance as possible from the bowl, and to arrange for the flushing from a tank placed within the house. The advantages of securing a tank flush combined with the opportunity of using a water closet rim which flushes entirely around the bowl are material as compared with the use of an iron hopper closet into which the water enters tangentially so that the flushing effect is greatly dissipated. This arrangement of closet is common in Washington, D. C., but not elsewhere.

The reason for its existence in new buildings in Washington is that there are so many colored domestics about the house, and there is a feeling of dislike to have the colored servants use the same facilities as the members of the household. That is the reason for the outside water closet having its tank within the house, a tank filled with warm water which may be brought to the outside closet without freezing.

The next type of fixture in point of desirability is a closet of the frost-proof or non-freezing type, so called, having an underground closed tank, or a tank located above the fixture, into which the water enters only when the fixture is used. The objection to this kind of water closet, which has not yet, so far as I am aware, been overcome in any design, is the fact that freezing occurs when the flushing water comes in contact with those parts of the fixture which are necessarily exposed to a low temperature. An additional disadvantage is the fact that it is found necessary in the case of an underground valve to provide a cross connection from the soil pipe to the water supply in order to allow the wasting of the water from the exposed portions of the apparatus. There is no doubt that such a connection is an element of danger whenever a loss of pressure or, as is sometimes the case, a positive vacuum occurs in the water supply mains, thus allowing the possible entrance of sewage matter into the domestic water-supply system.

THE CLEANING OF PRIVIES

Greater diversity is shown in the methods in vogue for the cleaning of privies than in almost any other line of municipal administration. In some cases the municipality makes no provision whatever for rendering this service. It is most common to limit the cleaning operations to licensed scavengers and to require that permits be taken out for each vault. In other jurisdictions the service is performed entirely by a municipal force of laborers. It is well recognized at the present time that such work should not be performed at night, but in the day time, in order that greater care may be exercised and that responsibility may be readily determined if nuisance is created. The method in vogue in Chicago of allowing the work to be done by licensed scavengers under close supervision of sanitary inspectors is a relatively expensive method, as it involves the presence of a man who renders supervisory service only and does not perform any part of the work. It seems the best method to have the work performed by day labor employed directly by the city and to provide for the owner's meeting the expense by a deposit of the cost before the work is done. In emergency cases requiring

immediate attention, privy vaults should be cleaned by the city and the expenses assessed upon the property as are other taxes. In the absence of such powers it is impossible to secure prompt action in cases where the owner is unwilling or possibly unable to meet the expense involved.

SUMMARY

We recommend, then:

First, that attention be directed to the nuisance and danger of maintaining privy vaults.

Second, that statistics of the existence of privy vaults be collected, including:

(a) Those where sewer facilities are available.

(b) Those where sewers are not provided.

Third, that the practicability of providing individual septic tanks and small disposal fields be urged.

Fourth, that comparisons be made of the relative advantages and disadvantages of underground vaults and receptacles placed above ground.

Fifth, that the screening of vaults and privy houses be considered necessary.

Sixth, that privy vaults be replaced by indoor water closets wherever this can be accomplished.

Seventh, that the cleaning of privy vaults be performed by municipal day-labor forces.

CITY PLANNING AND HOUSING

FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED

President National City Planning Conference, Boston

THERE are two distinct classes of lands in a city, with the arrangement of which city planning is concerned in two very distinct ways.

On the one hand are the lands to be devoted to the various public services. Of these by far the greatest part are devoted primarily to transportation, including streets, railways of all sorts, and waterways. The remaining lands devoted to public services, parks, playgrounds, schools, the various branches of public administration and of public-service corporations, need not be enumerated in detail. The main thesis of city planning is that those who are responsible for protecting the interests of the community ought to plan a suitable arrangement of lands and equipment for the efficient performance of these common services. This is the obvious work of city planning enormously complicated, it is true, but in essence just what a man does when he figures the requirements of a manufacturing plant, selects a suitable site, buys it, and proceeds in due course with the development of the plant.

On the other hand, city planning is also concerned with the arrangement and adaptation to use of the lands which are not acquired for any public service but are left for private occupancy, chiefly for housing. This concern is direct and inevitable from the fact that the location of a complex network of streets, railways, waterways, parks and other public-service properties, amounting in some cases to something like half of the total city area, necessarily cuts up all the remaining city land into fragments whose size and shape and topographical characteristics have the utmost influence upon the efficiency with which they can be used for any given purpose. It is as much the concern of city planning to secure blocks and lots well fitted for use as to get good railroad terminals. But in addition to this

direct determination of the size and shape of the private lands, city planning includes a large amount of indirect and negative control over the developments upon these lands. This is exercised through the prohibitions and regulations of the building and sanitary laws and through the incidence of taxation. This much by way of definition.

Those whose primary interest is in the promotion of better housing conditions must be deeply concerned with the development of the transportation system as a whole and with other general aspects of city planning; but that concern they share with all the other interests of the city and we need not now discuss it in detail. The points at which city planning and housing overlap and coalesce are chiefly in the fixing of depth of block and lot, width and treatment of street, height and thickness of permissible buildings to be used for housing, and the relations of all of these to one another. I cannot in a brief paper discuss all these subjects systematically, and will merely touch on a few points that seem to me rather critical.

One point is that there are great differences in the depth of lot which is desirable for housing purposes. The best type of housing for one time and place may be a very bad type of housing for another time or another place. The depth of lot suitable for one type may be a physical or economic misfit for another type.

Consider first the detached suburban house in a garden plot on inexpensive land. This may be anything from the cheapest little shack that can give healthful shelter for a workman's family to a palace with a retinue of servants. Assuming in each case the best and most economic solution of the problem, in other words assuming that each household is to get the best money's worth for the money expended, the most satisfactory and profitable depth of lot is likely to be in either case upwards of 150 feet in depth. It might be a quarter of a mile or more.

Consider next the structurally economical rows of single family houses separated only by party walls. These may vary in size and cost through almost as wide a range as the detached houses. Sometimes they can profitably be provided with gardens, sometimes with no more space outside the walls of the

houses than is needed for light and air and means of access. I have seen long rows of laborers' cottages in England where the buildings were not 20 feet deep, each having a narrow strip of garden behind it, 200 feet in depth, every foot of it used to the utmost. I know private dwellings in New York 100 feet deep from front to rear, at least on the ground floor, without an inch of land at the back and with so little land in front that the door-steps and the balconies occupy the public street on sufferance. And again, at Tooting, the London County Council built rows of workmen's houses about 25 feet deep with back yards so small that I should not have felt it safe to swing a cat in some I visited. Yet the dwellings were good ones of their kind in all three cases and the land was effectively used.

Finally we have the multiple-family dwellings: two-family houses, assimilated in physical requirements to the previous class, tenement houses, apartments and hotels of every accepted type, the detached four-family house of the Boston suburbs, the rows of new-law tenements in New York, as deep as the law allows, the huge German model tenements with their interior courts, so spacious-looking and attractive in the pictures, the Mills hotels, the Waldorf, and my friend Atterbury's suburban apartment hotel at Forest Hills Gardens with its rambling plan, its eight-story tower and daylight all around.

There is a natural tendency upon the part of the housing reformer to assume a general superiority for the particular type of housing which he finds best suited to the conditions with which he has been personally concerned—a tendency to regard other types of housing as abnormal and either undesirable or unattainable. At the recent conference on city planning our English friends, Mr. Adams and Mr. Unwin, were so convinced that the English ideal of a house and garden for every family is generally practicable and desirable that they were rather inclined to be impatient with what they seemed to regard as an attitude of complacency on the part of Mr. Veiller in regard to the new-law tenements in New York.

Now I believe that there is a permanently normal field for every one of the types of housing I have mentioned above. The initial difficulty is to tell which type is going to be demanded

in a given locality before laying out the local streets and so fixing the lot depths. Thereafter, throughout the centuries, the recurrent problem is how to meet new conditions which demand a type of housing different from that for which the street layout was originally designed.

No possible ingenuity can devise a plan of streets and blocks that is equally well adapted to radically different types of housing, or one that can be successively used, unchanged, for radically different types without great waste and evil results. It is needless, before this audience, to cite examples of converted dwellings, of the rear tenement, the dark room and other evils resulting from the use of deep lots for urban housing. In cities that have grown untrammeled by any artificial street plans, like the older parts of Boston, for example, the play of economic forces has generally led to the successive subdivision of blocks by minor streets and passages, permitting the use of smaller and smaller lot units, until in places the tide turns, the little lots are re-aggregated into larger units for commercial purposes, and a tendency is apparent to obliterate the minor streets again, at least by bridging them. These readjustments, carried on by private initiative and hampered by the diversity of private interests, are of course incomplete and not altogether admirable in their results; but they are made in response to real demands. It is a serious drawback to many deliberately adopted street plans that they tend to enforce a permanent uniformity and rigidity in the standards of block and lot depth.

It cannot be too often emphasized, as one of the basic features of good city planning, that there should be a marked distinction between thoroughfares on the one hand and strictly local streets on the other; that the thoroughfares, laid out well in advance, should divide the city into blocks of moderate size, to be regarded as permanently fixed; and that the subdivision of each of these blocks by minor streets should be treated as a localized problem, should be adjusted to the expected local uses, and be capable of alteration at any time without interference with the general system of circulation.

Another thing which is made possible by the elimination of all but strictly local traffic from the minor local streets is the

great freedom of treatment in the design of the individual streets which this permits. Under such circumstances the only essential functions which most of them will be called upon to perform are to furnish light and air for the buildings, and a gangway for a small amount of traffic. In the case of very short passages and those at the rear of buildings which have entrances on other streets, they may not have to provide for vehicles at all but only for foot passage.

In point of fact the total extent of paved road and footway that is sufficient to carry with ease all the strictly local traffic of small districts is very much less than the total space that must be left open to provide adequately for the admission of light and air to the lower stories of buildings. Of the open space required for light and air that portion which is not occupied by the necessary extent of public ways is ordinarily taken up in part by private yards, courts and light-shafts, many of which serve no other useful purpose than the admission of light and air and often do that very badly, and in part by portions of the street surface laid out and maintained in excess of the traffic requirements. The latter are generally paved but may be partly or wholly turfed or otherwise ornamented, and they may contribute to public recreation or provide the standing space for sidewalk merchants or serve other purposes aside from those of mere transportation. Not infrequently this extra space in the streets is so treated as to serve no good purpose and, apart from its use in admitting light and air to the abutting buildings, is wasted or worse than wasted, like the wide dusty deserts in certain residential streets.

There is no doubt that better results would often be secured, especially in tenement districts, if nearly all of these fragmentary spaces, both public and private, were aggregated into a series of connecting open spaces,—called streets or courts or restricted areas or what you like—specifically designed of such width in relation to the building masses which intervene between them as to give an equitable distribution of light and air. All or most of these open spaces could profitably be traversed by foot-ways open to public inspection and policing and subject to public maintenance, and many of them by wheel-ways giving

access to the buildings. But since the whole of the open area necessary to give light and air to the buildings would not be required for pavement the remainder would be devoted to other uses; turfed and gardened, or sanded and used for playing, or arranged for any other profitable use not inconsistent with its primary functions. These open spaces might look like streets, they might look like alleys or back yards, they might look like courts or quadrangles with arched entrances, they might look like gardens; but their permanent maintenance as a means of admitting light and air to the buildings would be assured. In tenement districts it is probable that the care and maintenance of the whole of these open spaces by the public would give the best results, whether the surface were all paved or were used partly for greenery or playground; but in many localities all except the portions needed for the time being as public traffic ways could be entrusted to the abutters to care for and use in any manner not inconsistent with public interests. Exactly this thing is done in the case of wide public streets, as notably in Washington, where the portion not needed for traffic is left in the form of front door yards for the use of abutters, pending the arrival of conditions that may make it desirable for the public to re-assume the care and control of the space. I believe it is logical to treat in this way all of the spaces which the interests of the community require to be left permanently free from building, back yards as well as front yards, leaving for the future to determine when, if ever, additional public ways need to be opened through the space originally assigned to back yards and when, if ever, that part of the open space not required for traffic should be withdrawn from private maintenance and kept up by the public.

Mr. Veiller, in his paper at the recent conference on city planning, recommended streets 25 feet apart for workmen's dwellings; explaining later that alternate streets might be largely occupied by turf or playground space. I judge that he calls these spaces streets merely because he thinks they ought to be under public control and maintenance. You will see that I am merely directing your attention to a broad principle of which Mr. Veiller's suggestion is a particular application. The

principle is the same whether the buildings between the open spaces are uniform rows of tenements 25 feet wide, that is to say, two rooms deep, or whether the plan is varied to provide room for structures demanding greater depth, such as large stores, places of entertainment and factories. I do not mention large dwellings among these exceptions, because the city dwellings that cannot be built on a lot 25 feet wide are very few indeed, and everyone knows that a 25-foot house would be better if it had light and air on both long sides instead of on the short ends only. If the open spaces are regarded not as streets, a term associated with long, straight spaces of *uniform* width, but simply as spaces for light and air with other incidental uses, such variation in the width of the building masses becomes perfectly natural and right so long as any encroachment on the open space to give this extra building depth is offset by a compensating alteration of the opposite building line.

The principles as applied to strictly urban areas may be summarized as follows:

1. Within each of the major blocks formed by the thoroughfare system of a city the amount of land to be kept permanently free from buildings in order to ensure adequate light and air should be determined according to the expected uses of the property and in conjunction with regulations as to the height of building. 2. Any arrangement and distribution of this permanent open area (and by consequence of the area which may be built upon solidly) is permissible which meets the requirements, (a) that no solid building area should be unreasonably wide for the class of occupancy proposed; (b) that no portion of the permanent open space upon which a building may be dependent for light and air should be too narrow to serve that purpose adequately in view of the height to which building may be permitted and (c) that the permanent open spaces be so designed that adequate means of access can be constructed through them to all of the buildings. 3. The fee of the permanent open spaces should be vested in the community, although the use and control of such parts of them as are not at once needed for traffic may be entrusted to the occupants of the abutting property. 4. The plan of subdivision of each of these major blocks

should be regarded as independent of the others, and subject to change in case it is called for by a change in the uses of the property.

We need not be unduly frightened by the bugbear that shallow buildings with a relatively long frontage on the street involve an undue cost for street construction. If all the streets are laid out and constructed in a manner fit for main urban thoroughfares the extra charge would be serious, but purely local streets can be considerably cheapened. An allowance of ten dollars a running foot is generally liberal for local streets, making a charge on the lot of five dollars per front foot. For the cheapest classes of housing this can be further reduced; but even at five dollars a front foot, if we suppose that making well lighted shallow buildings would halve the depth, double the frontage, and increase the average street frontage per family from twenty to forty feet, the increased capital investment per family would be only a hundred dollars.

Some increase of cost there is bound to be. The idea that a little ingenuity in the design of streets and buildings will cut out so much of the waste in present methods as to give poor people much better housing for the same money is the dream of amateurs. Commercial competition is now cutting the corners so close that almost any material improvement must be paid for in cash or in the surrender of some other advantage. Dr. Woods Hutchinson has said that if any kind of food costs much less than the standard foods, it is safe to assume that it is either less nutritious, less digestible, or less palatable. It is much the same with housing.

We must exercise ingenuity and effort in getting the most we can for the money; but also we must squarely face the independent necessity of raising the minimum standard of housing cost as high as the community can reasonably afford. Ten acres of floor space can be more cheaply provided in a storage warehouse a hundred feet wide, without any interior light wells or ventilating system, that it possibly can be in any kind of dwellings fit for human habitation.

To take up the control of developments on private property through the police power would land us in the midst of the sub-

ject of housing legislation, upon which others here are far better fitted to speak than I. In connection with city planning at large the subject has received only a very limited and superficial study in this country, but it should be noted that it is a much broader field than mere tenement-house legislation, on which the work of housing reformers has largely been concentrated hitherto. It must deal with the control of all kinds of buildings; with the knotty problem of the sky-scraper office building, with the factory, the hotel and the single-family house as well as with the tenement.

A housing reformer who is looking for practical results may well ask just what he may expect from city planning. Let me answer first as to replanning, as to dealing with existing conditions in already developed urban areas.

Those who discuss city planning from the spectacular standpoint, especially if they be architects with a Parisian background, are apt to create an impression that it runs to what has been called Haussmannizing—the smashing of grand new streets through old quarters and a general reconstructing and modernizing of the defective parts of the city. As a matter of fact, the arbitrary reconstructions suggested by the term Haussmannizing are altogether exceptional and abnormal activities of city planning and so seldom practicable on a considerable scale as to be of minor importance, like the erection of model tenements in housing. The hope of demolishing slum districts wholesale or by arbitrarily converting a district of one kind into a district of a wholly different kind by any process of city planning may be dismissed as futile. There is, however, one feature of city replanning that has a direct bearing on housing of large practical importance. It is the local introduction of intermediate streets in order to reduce block depths as a part of the process of adapting particular quarters of the city to natural changes in occupation. To facilitate this process, to plan in advance the methods by which it can best be done, to keep open opportunities here and there by timely action, all this is a part of the daily work of practical city planning. The influence of such work extending over the whole city and slowly, steadily guiding a process which has the pressure of economic

law behind it will accomplish an enormous amount of good for housing in the old parts of any city that is not bound by a street plan so rigid and complete as to give no room for change.

But just as the greatest need in housing reform is to maintain a proper standard for the endless succession of new buildings that go up from year to year, so the greatest opportunity for usefulness in city planning is to control intelligently the layout of the streets and blocks which are coming into existence from day to day in the suburban zone of every city. Here the housing conditions of the future are being determined at an astonishing rate of speed, and here the application of intelligence and energy will accomplish great results for little cost.

ALLEYS

MRS. ALBION FELLOWS BACON

Evansville, Indiana.

WHEN Mr. Veiller gave me the subject of alleys, and I began to think what ought to be said, it seemed to me that one violent word would express all there was to say about them. As I said to him, in our towns an alley is simply a profane interjection in the sentence of the block. On thinking it over, I found there were several things to be said, both for and against. But as I can speak with knowledge only of medium-sized cities, I may do no more than to open up a minor street of intelligence down which you can drive your wagons of discussion.

There is little classification of alleys: they are narrow or they are wide, they are lighted or they are unlighted. Some are cobbled, some are bricked, some are not paved at all. The vital division is, some are clean and some are dirty. To be sure, paving is a great assurance of cleanliness, as a paved alley can be kept clean and dry. But it is a common sight to see well-paved alleys strewn with paper, tin cans and filth, with a black stream of ooze meandering down the middle.

I suppose we agree that alleys are desirable if they are kept clean and well lighted—an ideal condition. There is no doubt of their being needed for block ventilation in large cities, the very place that they are sometimes not to be found. In smaller towns—and I submit that the small town should be taken as our unit of values, and not the great city—in smaller towns block ventilation is given by large yards and spacious lawns in the residence district. In the business section, even in little towns, the lots are covered entirely with buildings. These large lots of the residence section, too, are disappearing, for the flat mania is growing everywhere. But I hope that every resident of a small or medium-sized town will listen to this, because the idea of block ventilation is generally taken not to

apply except to big cities: Block by block, as you ride or walk from the edge of your town to its center, you will find the air grows denser and fouler, till you reach the bad-air district. You come from the business district, hot and tired and headachy, and sit down on some veranda near the edge of town, and say, "Ah, how delightfully fresh and pure the air is here. What a contrast to down town." Of course it is. Notice, when you walk the other way. In a few blocks you leave the crisp freshness behind you. The air seems denser and closer. There is more dust and smoke and soot. Near the heart of town, heat waves strike the face. Then odors rise from the street. The buildings are taller and closer together. Now you reach the business houses. Odors of leather, dry goods, paints, bananas and oranges, tobacco, fish, gutter odors, alley odors fill the air. It seems to be stale, as in an unventilated room, and you feel that the air here is stagnant. And this old, foul air, laden with bad odors and impure gases, is all the air that clerks and merchants and bankers have to breathe all day long. It is all the air that little babies, living upstairs in hot rooms over the backs of stores, have to breathe, day and night. So there is need of all the avenues of ventilation that we can get, need of alleys to help the streets bring in the currents of fresh air from the country, to blow away the stale odors and poisonous gases, and to blow a fresh, vital breath in at the tenement windows where the little children are cooped upstairs. And there is need that the alleys be clean, so as not to contaminate the air they convey. Besides serving for block ventilation, the alleys serve as exits for waste, ashes, garbage, and the like. We who are used to this service hardly appreciate it until we come to a city where these undesirables go out the front way, and then we have a bewildered feeling that somehow things are "fatally twishted."

But alas, this very use to which we devote alleys dedicates them to waste and offscourings and makes them boulevards of the abandoned. Still, our waste has to go out some way, and the back way is the most convenient. So it happens that the alley problem and the waste problem are almost identical. It is a great problem, that of properly disposing of waste. Until

we solve it we shall not be perfectly civilized. Some of the waste might be avoided if we could learn not to be so profligate of nature's stores, for half our food goes to garbage, and half our fuel goes to cinders, ashes and smoke. But the waste products caused by necessary elimination must always be taken care of, and their disposal is the vital part of the waste problem.

In towns that have alleys, the refuse is deposited near the alleys and carried out through them. The rear premises are therefore harder to keep clean and sightly, and generally the most care is lavished on the front; that shows more results for the same efforts. People put their best foot foremost, forgetting that this leaves the worst foot hindmost, and collecting all their trash and refuse on the rear premises, turn their backs upon them, as upon an unhappy past. And, indeed, considering alleys as they generally are, it is not surprising if we want to get away from them and forget them, and if we "love—man the less and nature more, from these our interviews."

Along our alleys, in stables, or sheds, or bins, or cans, we bestow every form of waste. First, and worst, are the cesspools or vaults—thousands upon thousands of them. Second are the garbage cans. Next come the ash bins and rubbish piles. The contents of these outside receptacles are gathered up and carted away down the alleys at irregular intervals. So, down the alleys goes the ash cart, with its rumble and creak; and down the alley goes the slop man with his unpleasant "toot, toot," and down the alley goes the wagon of the rag man, "Rags, rags," severally scattering ashes, and noises, and germs. In their wake go the seedy loafers, lounging through the alleys, and stray dogs, and dusty cats, slinking heavily along, with fierce and frowning faces—the ones that nobody loves. But nice people (where I live) don't like to go through the alleys, and they try to keep their children out of them. They don't even talk or think about them. If we were Hindus, we would make our low caste people go through the alleys. If we had lepers, we would make them go through the alleys. This is our popular attitude.

The alley has its revenge on us, as all neglected things will have. Out of the alley issue offensive odors and poisonous

gases, and a plague of flies, to torment us to reason, as they tormented Pharaoh. But we harden our hearts, and cling to all the abominations, even in our good residence districts.

In the crowded and poorer districts, the alleys are the avenues for vice and contagion. We have our own cocaine alley, in behind saloons and fish stores and low dives, where the lowest and vilest congregate, the human waste of the city, in all their filth. Almost every city has its alleys of this kind, that only the police know about, dangerous to pass, dangerous as breeding places of pestilence. Here crimes are committed, hence issues an inky current of contamination that sometimes reaches to our very doors.

Here, in our slum districts, the boys play in rough gangs—the boys who will be our future politicians and city fathers. Here little girls find a side entrance to the juvenile court or reformatory. Here babies crawl over the filthy paving and no one sees how many little graves open up just at the end of the alley. We don't see them, because we avert our faces when we pass by, to escape the odors of beer and tobacco, and the other worse things. In the death list infant mortality is not commented on, nor divided off to itself. It all goes together, in little plain type, and most people don't have time to read it, after they have read the sensations and markets and dramatic and sporting and society news. If it could be put in glaring type it might help to reform the alleys.

It does not take long to sum up the evils of the bad types of alleys. They are as brief as "the short and simple annals of the poor." But, like the old singer, "My tale is not long, but it's strong." Lack of light, lack of drainage of surrounding premises, the scattering of filth and trash from adjacent premises and from passing wagons, leave many alleys dismal, damp and dirty. In the worst specimens we find trash, paper, tin cans, cartons, rags, old shoes, stable refuse, ashes, mud, pools of dishwater and so on—I can say no more.

Mr. Veiller, in *Housing and Health*, insists that "the alley, if it is to remain, must be treated as a street. It must be paved; it must be cleaned at regular intervals, that is, kept clean, not made clean; it must be lighted and it must be policed."

He shows how the increase of the city's expenses will be compensated in reduced cost of police courts and jails, hospitals and relief, saying: "It is better economy to keep people well than to get them well, to prevent crime than to punish it." He goes on to point out the need for the city to dispose of all refuse, and not leave it to the citizens, who are too often unable to pay to have it carted away. He says: "There are few cities in America to-day where the garbage is collected with sufficient frequency or regularity. And the city which collects rubbish, ashes and other waste is yet the exception rather than the rule." He points out that "in every city in the country the health department is terribly undermanned."

Each one of us here knows that this is true. We know, too, that we cannot expect to have our alleys paved, cleaned and lighted so long as miles of streets are unpaved, uncleaned and unlighted. When all the outer streets of a city have neither sewer pipes nor water mains, the alleys have to share their fate. And if the city fathers agree that the city is paving and cleaning and piping as fast as its finances will permit, what can be done?

In some places a time limit is set regularly for a "clean up." A policeman calls at each door and leaves the order for the alleys to be cleaned. Then the citizen must either hire his share of the alley cleaned or get out with a broom and shovel and do it himself. The result is better than you might look for. But even though the city should undertake to clean, pave and light the alleys, as well as the streets, the citizens will need to see that it is done, and a private committee of citizens to look after every department of civic work is a great safeguard and help

It is only when all of our citizens realize that "we can have freedom from preventable diseases in proportion as we are willing to pay for it," and choose rightly between "dollars or deaths," that we can expect to have the money that is needed spent on health departments. I believe that we shall agree that vaults are vital to the alley problem, as they are generally situated on the rear premises, and do more than anything else to pollute the air of the alleys. In fact, the rear tenements, on the alleys, have little air supply which is not contaminated by the

odors from the vaults, and the flies which breed there are the worst menace of the rear tenant. So the removal of the vault is the most important as well as the most difficult part of the alley problem. It is going to require tremendous pressure to force our people to remove the vaults and to instal the necessary plumbing in every house. Cost, inconvenience of installing, custom, prejudice, selfishness, indifference, will all have to be taken into account. Those who have had any experience in getting reforms know just what a long, hard battle will be required.

There will have to be a nation-wide publicity campaign. Such work as Dr. George Thomas Palmer has done in Springfield, Illinois, in making a complete sanitary map of the city will help a great deal. His work will help us and make it easier for us to get sanitary maps. And I am sure that in this, as in every other campaign for the betterment of the race, the press will take the glorious part in the warfare that it has always taken. I am glad to know that the wisest men in our country are already laying plans for this campaign, and that all that we have to do is just to fall in line and lend our help.

Looking about for other things that contribute to the alley filth along the rear of the lot, we find the ash bins. These will disappear when we all use gas or electricity. Until then we must put up with the soot and cinders, for we have not yet found the coal that consumes perfectly, advertisements to the contrary. Invention may find a way to transmute ashes into some article of commerce, but let's not count on it.

The garbage question is another puzzler. In a certain northern city the poorer tenants dig holes in the back yard and bury the garbage. In some places, many people burn their garbage, as horrid smells of burning bones and greens inform us. But, when we use gas or electricity, we shall have no place to burn our garbage. In the country one can give to a pig or cow, but these tenement laws "prohibit swine, goats, *etc.*" Clearly, we shall have to come to the use of only tabloid foods, or liquid foods. But now, the ash bin and the garbage can seem as deeply rooted (pardon the rhetoric) as the frying pan and the coffee pot, that we curse and cling to. And if we must have

them, the prompt and frequent removal of ashes and garbage is of the utmost importance. We all have our troubles in this regard. But what do you think of cities that remove neither ashes nor garbage, or, perhaps, only garbage, and whose citizens are forced to pay to have their ashes hauled away? This results in mountains of cinders, in some back yards of the tenements, growing taller by every contribution of each new tenant. One of our health officers said that people would get up at four o'clock in the morning to dump their ashes on to a vacant lot. That may be understood in the case of people too poor to afford to have their ashes hauled away. But I saw one morning, in a fine residence district, an old lady who lives in an elegant home, slip through an alley and dump two great baskets of papers onto a vacant lot, and hurry away as if in fear of being seen She had a furnace in her home, and might easily have burned the papers, which the wind soon lifted and bore all over the lot and down the alley. This old lady was only a type of the hundreds and thousands who are responsible for our trash-littered streets and alleys. Until we can train the rising generation not to scatter paper wrappings and cartons, the lovers of neatness will have to suffer. The cure for the trash evil is the real cure for all the other alley nuisances, the universal solvent of all the reformer's difficulties—education. But oh, how slowly it does its work! Still, it is a comforting kind of solution, because it shifts part of the burden off our shoulders onto the younger generation. But we do have to educate, even though we legislate, for the enforcement of laws depends on the education of the citizens.

We shall have to lay bare and make known all the facts about filth and waste and about the disease they produce. I think that if we were to lay bare the alleys themselves, take down the sheds and the high fences that screen them and shut them out of sight, and have them all in plain view, people would be much more tidy and cleanly about the alleys. It's all very nice to plant vines over our ugly sheds, and put trellises before the ash bins, but if we could sprinkle all about every centre of contamination some drug with a horrible odor we might do more towards getting conditions improved. People wouldn't

rest until they removed the source of the smell. Bad odors are like pain, friendly warnings of danger. Until we make the danger spots unbearable, people will continue to bear them. Publicity is fast making the fly unbearable. More publicity will make the vault unbearable. Reformers always begin, or should begin, by exposing the conditions which need reform. History shows that this is the successful way. So it must be our painful task to bombard the eyes and ears and noses of the public, until they yield. A most ungrateful task, you will agree. A person who insists on dragging unsavory nuisances before the public is put into the class of unsavory nuisances himself. The civic improvers are wisest who spend more time in eradicating nuisances than in planting vines over them. So we must go on with our malodorous task, hoping that in after years, at least, our deeds will "smell sweet," and blossom in the dust. Though this generation stone us, their children will garnish our sepulchers.

The task before us is to change the whole mental attitude of our people, The alley, as it is to-day, is only a visible expression of the public thought about all health problems, carelessness, indifference, or disgust. We have been too successful stoics, and misapplied the teaching of that dear old heathen, Marcus Aurelius: "How easy it is to repeal and to wipe away every impression which is troublesome or unsuitable, and immediately to be in all tranquillity."

A false civic pride has made us hide our city's shame and danger, while real civic pride and interest makes us ferret out and destroy all that hurts or hinders its growth.

There are two ways to educate, one by showing the bad conditions, the other by showing the better way. Our civic improvers need to make the lawns so lovely that the alleys will blush at the contrast. Our good citizens need to set a good example of clean alleys. Our teachers and parents need to fill the minds of the rising generation with beauty of line and form and color, until they will hate the ugly and the vile. And so, in time, our alleys may come to be broad, clean driveways, well lighted, bordered with flowers, with every old shed and stable and bin torn away and forgotten. That will be when we have ceased to be barbarous. But how shall it all be accomplished?

LAW ENFORCEMENT

HON. JOHN J. MURPHY

Tenement House Commissioner, New York City

IF the laws were self-enacting how many problems of government might be simplified! Whenever we are confronted with a condition of things which we do not like, we rise up and demand that there be a law enacted to prevent or require something, and having secured the law we conclude that we have accomplished something. Of course, I attribute this mental attitude to the general public and not to the specially trained intelligences belonging to the group which I am now addressing. Yet it is a very customary attitude. When the law is passed the work of enforcement begins, and it is as to the methods actually used in enforcing our law that I am supposed to address you.

To begin with, as soon as the law is passed everybody is supposed to be aware of it and to know what it contains and what it means. The mere statement of this supposition is enough to convince one of its absurdity. The point has been well taken that the old theory that every one was presumed to know the law applied only to the common law and was based on the assumption that the common law being the product of the general opinion of the community in which it operated might reasonably be presumed to be within everybody's knowledge. No such presumption can be established for statute law; but in order that laws may be enforced, and people punished for breaking them, we have to continue the old assumption, because strangely enough our sense of justice might conflict with the idea of punishing a man for violation of a rule which he did not know. Therefore we feel justified in agreeing to a purely artificial hypothesis that he does know. The first step, therefore, towards law enforcement ought to be, and is in this department, the notification to the owner of the property affected as to the points on which he is delinquent.

At the outset this work divides itself into two classes of notices, one furnished by the New-Building Bureau and the other by the Old-Building Bureau. The New-Building Bureau notifies owners of proposed buildings as to the points at which their plans vary from the requirements of the law and from the rules and regulations of the Tenement House Department. During the process of its erection every new building intended for tenement purposes is kept under constant supervision, and every substantial deviation from plans filed is made the basis of a violation. Wherever such violation is of a grave character the owner and builder are notified that if the fault is not remedied promptly the department will revoke the permit, thus compelling a cessation of the work on the whole building. In passing it may be stated that the number of such orders, while considerable in the past, is now very small because the builders have been trained to a better understanding of the law and a knowledge that the department will not be trifled with in such matters. In a sense, therefore, the New-Building Bureau is an adviser to owners and builders rather than an agent of repression. Of course, if the owner or builder will not be guided, then the repression follows, but ninty per cent of our work today is advisory and instructive rather than repressive.

The Old-Building Bureau, on the other hand, warns the owners as to violations of law in buildings already constructed. Information as to these violations comes to us in two ways: One, through the regular cycle inspections made by inspectors of the department four times a year of all of the cheaper grades of tenements in the city, and the other, from complaints received. Complaints reach us by letter, by personal visits and by telephone. We do not insist upon complaints being signed. An investigation of the complaints forwarded to us indicates that while from ten to fifteen per cent of them are withont adequate foundation, the result of spite or malice, eighty-five per cent relate to matters concerning which interference either by the Tenement House Department or by some other department of the city government is entirely justified.

When the complaint has been received from our inspector or from an unofficial complainant, and when the cause of com-

plaint has been verified, a notice is sent to the owner informing him of the fact that the illegal condition exists, and that if he will remove same within ten days of the receipt of the notice, no violation will be filed against the property. The basis of this procedure, as distinguished from the summary filing of a violation when it is reported to exist, is that the owner who is charged with such offense may have an opportunity to protest if he believes the complaint not justifiable, and that he may have the opportunity to remove it without having the matter take the form of a definite violation.

If no action by the owner follows the sending of such a notice after a reasonable time, his attention is again called to the situation existing before the matter is forwarded to the office of the corporation counsel for legal action. After the case reaches the corporation counsel the usual "lawyer's letter" is sent by the corporation counsel informing the delinquent that if he does not comply with the orders of the department promptly, legal proceedings will be taken.

The legal proceedings provided in the law are of several kinds. When conditions exist which do not seriously or immediately threaten the safety of the residents of the building, recourse is had to police-court proceedings, as in the case of any ordinary misdemeanor, with a purpose of having the delinquent fined. This method is found to be effective in a very large number of minor cases. It has been the practise of the department where a disposition to comply is shown, not to insist upon the exaction of a penalty. I was inclined at the first of the year (and am still) to consider that whatever value this policy might have had in the past, because of the unfamiliarity of owners with the law, leniency was a mistake, because owners have found it possible to postpone action sometimes for years and at the end obey the orders of the department without any more cost to themselves than if they had complied promptly in the beginning. The corporation counsel has therefore been directed that in future he shall not agree to the remission of any penalty in cases which have been sent to him for prosecution. Of course if in the trial of the case it appears that for any reason an injustice would be done by the

exaction of the penalty, the commissioner exercises his authority to accept the remission.

In cases where structural alterations are called for, which do not immediately or seriously menace the health of the occupants of the building, we have the right to proceed in the civil courts for the collection of the penalty of $250 and $10 per diem for the period during which the violation shall be shown to exist. The law gives the judges very little discretion in these matters. If the proof of the existence of the violation is complete, they have no alternative but to impose the fine provided in the law. Of course such cases are frequently appealed from the lower to higher courts and in this way actual enforcement is delayed, but the number of contests grows steadily less.

In serious cases the most effective weapon of the department is the vacation proceeding. Wherever a condition exists which justifies such action by the inspector in charge of the case, he certifies in an affidavit that he believes that condition to constitute a menace to life and health. We may then order the premises vacated. It is a remedy to which we resort only in cases of extremity. It is a sword which cuts both ways, because while it inflicts upon delinquent owners the loss of rental, it is very often a serious hardship to the innocent tenants who are compelled to move with what is often short notice. We find it, however, necessary in some instances to exercise this power, and there are a number of houses in the city to-day vacant because of the refusal of the department to allow them to be occupied and the refusal of the owners to make the necessary repairs.

A power which is in theory conferred upon the department but one which has not been exercised for lack of proper financial arrangements, is that of abating nuisances wherever they may exist and charging the property with the cost of such abatement. The language of the charter by which this power is conferred is broad enough to enable us to carry out any order issued by the department, but the cost of such work has not been in the past a superior lien and in the absence of this provision this exercise has been regarded as unwise. There is a bill now before the legislature which would make expense in-

curred for this purpose a lien superior to others except for taxes and assessments. If this measure passes it will greatly strengthen the power of the department for future work.

I may summarize the situation, however, by saying that in the final analysis the most effective work for law enforcement has been through constant urging by the department and the explanation to owners and others of the necessity for the proposed changes rather than through the actual operation of the law. This is not to say that our expostulations would have been successful had not the power of the law existed which would compel compliance, but that the great mass of improvements has been made without putting the matter to legal test. Had any concerted opposition been made all the work of improvement might have been long postponed.

My experience since coming into the department has been that public interest, which was divided in the beginning, is now substantially unanimous as to the desirability of the law and as to the substantial benefits which it has conferred upon the city of New York.

THE TENANT'S RESPONSIBILITY

MISS EMILY WAYLAND DINWIDDIE

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WHOEVER first said, "To reform the tenant one must begin with the landlord," made a statement so true that it seems almost a truism.

I am not attempting in the brief time allotted to me to discuss any but the more helpless class of tenants, those with incomes so small as to allow them no choice of living in the suburbs and coming in to work or of moving to quiet residence parts of the city away from the tenement sections of New York and the tenement and alley districts of such cities as Philadelphia and Washington. There are many serious problems for the families of small means as well as for the poor, but these I shall not attempt to take up now.

The landlord's influence, felt through the medium of the house itself and the agent and housekeeper, is one of the first, strongest and most permanent of those brought to bear upon the recently arrived immigrant or the country dweller newly migrated to town.

It is natural that the tenant should form his ideas and ideals partly from what he sees about him. If he comes into the congested section of the city and moves into a badly conducted house he may think that overcrowding and dirt and dark rooms and bad ventilation are an inevitable part of American city life.

He usually responds to such surroundings in one of three ways. Through ignorance, or light-heartedness, or hopeless degradation, he may accept them with cheerfulness or indifference. Or he may accept them because he cannot rise above them and must endure them, but with deep resentment, expressing itself in antagonism to the landlord and his interests. Or, if he has the character and ability and favoring circumstances, he may make himself a new environment. It is the tenants be-

longing to the first two classes who form a part of the vicious circle of negligent landlord and negligent tenant, acting and reacting upon each other.

Here is the case of one very bad tenement house on the East Side. The owner allowed the roof to leak and the building to become so dilapidated in appearance as to wound the self-respect of any occupant. There was no proper provision for the care of the halls, yards and other parts of the building used in common by all the families. The shutters were dropping to pieces, the rain pipes were broken, the fire-escapes were rusted. The walls of the areas were falling down. The balusters of the stairs were broken. The dirty wall paper was falling off the walls of the halls. The earthenware house drain in the cellar, supposed to carry off the waste from the building to the street sewer, was broken and leaking and in consequence the cellar was flooded and very offensive.

Some of the tenants seemingly did not know of anything better and merely lived, apparently contentedly, on a level with their surroundings, which except for the dark, ill-ventilated rooms and halls and the excessive density of population, were probably not much worse than what they had been previously accustomed to, though certainly not of a character to influence them to improve. Other families in the house resented being obliged to live under such conditions. They said the owner didn't care what became of them just so he got the money. They felt it hopeless to try to have a decent and attractive home and became as indifferent as the others. They threw garbage out into the court and yard. They carelessly spilled slops about the sinks, which were in the dark halls and used by four families each. They dragged pieces of wood and boxes for fuel through the halls, breaking the plaster and defacing the walls. They made no attempt to keep the children from whittling and scrawling with crayon and chalk over doors, the walls of the halls and courts, woodsheds and any other available surfaces. The amount of preventable wear and tear, breakage and general damage was enormous.

The landlord, of course, was angry in return and said, "What is the use of doing anything for such people? They would de-

stroy anything." This was a bad house, but I think any one familiar with the tenement districts of the city can readily parallel it from instances seen.

It is interesting to compare with this the story of Miss Collins' houses on Water street, originally of much the same character. Miss Collins, as many of those present already know, took houses of very bad reputation, in a filthy and dilapidated condition. She not merely kept in them the same class of tenants, that is, peddlers, longshoremen and rag-pickers, but actually retained in them nearly all the same families who had been living in the houses before she bought them. She had the buildings renovated throughout. She had the backyards enlarged and the halls lighted. The Tenement House Commission's report on her work says, in speaking of the windows cut to light the halls: "The effect of these windows affords one of the most interesting and instructive lessons to be found in the whole history of tenement-house improvement. Previous to this alteration, the adjacent halls and entries had been intolerably filthy. Sweepings and rubbish had been heaped in the corners under cover of the prevailing darkness, until the place was well-nigh impassable to one whose nostrils were not hardened. The change wrought by the flood of light from the new windows was sudden and surprising. The tenants were shamed by the sights revealed, and without waiting to be asked, hurriedly cleaned the halls and entries.

Miss Collins kept the houses for twenty-two years—abundant time for the enterprise to be thoroughly tested in every way. Without raising the rents during this period the houses brought in an income of 5½ %, not including the increase in the value of the land. Miss Collins expressed herself as thoroughly pleased with the results of her experiment. A complete transformation in the condition of the tenants and in their attitude toward the house was brought about. It is stated that arrests decreased in number, vacant apartments filled up, children withdrew from the streets to the yard, where they found a better playground, the collection of rents became easier, fighting, which had been the rule, became the rare exception.

The tenants took pride in helping to keep the yards and

buildings in good condition. The story is told that on one election night, when a band of revelers started to tear up the cellar doors for a bonfire, an Irish woman, living in one of the tenements, stood on the doors and defied them to touch the house. In nearby places the tenants themselves tore the shutters from the houses in which they lived in order to add to the blaze.

Miss Collins' twenty-two years of successful work with old houses in a bad neighborhood with a rough, uneducated and very poor class of tenants, is one of the best demonstrations that could be asked of the fallacy of the contention of some landlords that it is of no use for the owner to try to do anything for tenants of this type. For the landlord to show responsibility is the best way to rouse the tenant to a sense of responsibility, Miss Collins thought, and for the landlord to do his duty is the best way to stimulate the tenant to do his. And " absent treatment " does not work in the real-estate business any more than in any other. Either the landlord or his representive must know the houses and know the tenants and take an interest in more than the mere collection of the rents.

There are many examples that could be cited to show the effect of the work of the landlord or his responsible representative, the agent or manager, or whoever else may be in charge. I had the privilege, during a year spent in Philadelphia, of seeing improvements brought about by the Octavia Hill Association there in the houses under its control, and this organization has stood the test of as many years as those in which Miss Collins' work was conducted, and also has had to deal with houses originally in bad condition and occupied by very poor tenants. The organization represented by the speaker who is to follow me has to deal almost entirely with a very different and much better class of tenants, I imagine, but certainly some of its houses, which I have had the opportunity to visit, might serve as models of cleanliness.

Not only the landlord and agent, but the much-abused janitor, can do a great deal to hold tenants to their responsibility. We are accustomed to comic stories about the autocratic ways of the New York janitor, his doling out steam heat according to his own sweet will, and his lordly disregard of any humble re-

monstrance on the part of the tenants. But a good janitor can be one of the best influences possible in a house. I have discussed the janitor problem with successful managers of tenement houses in New York city, who have had years of experience, and had them tell me unanimously that they have found that getting a good janitor was half the battle. Miss Collins ascribed the success of her enterprise in large part to the capable head janitor she had for many years, who acted as a resident superintendent.

But if the janitor is to be of assistance in dealing with the occupants of a large tenement building he must not be selected primarily because of his cheapness, nor be made to live in the worst rooms in the house, nor be paid merely by being allowed a small reduction in his rent. In the first place it is rarely possible to get a good janitor for a large building unless he is properly paid and properly accommodated; and in the second place, if he lives in cramped quarters in a dark basement and is known to receive next to nothing for his work, the tenants are likely to have little respect for him and to pay but scant heed to any attempts on his part to check noise and disorder and enforce regard for the cleanliness and repair of the property. If the janitor is to be a real force, he must be a person to whom the tenants will look up, not down.

The landlord and his agent or manager, if he has one, and the janitor strongly influence the tenant, but it must not be forgotten that the tenants also have a marked influence upon one another. If clean tenants move into a house with dirty tenants, they sometimes very quickly acquire as bad habits as the others. There is no public opinion against them, the influence of example is strong, and moreover, if the others spill slops and throw trash about, their individual guilt is not easily detected as it would be in an otherwise clean house. Fortunately, the rule works both ways. I was interested to hear from an excellent model-tenement manager that she had had cases of tenants with a previous bad record for dirt, renting rooms in her clean, well-conducted houses among clean tenants and coming up to the standard at once. I do feel, however, very strongly, that if families show themselves incorrigibly dirty,

in justice to the decent tenants, the landlord should not allow them to remain.

There are many influences constantly at work with the tenement-house families to awaken their desire for good surroundings and their sense of responsibility. The public schools, the school visitors, district nurses, settlement workers, physicians, sanitary inspectors and many others all play their part.

We may well stop to consider what the tenant's responsibility is, what it is that he can and should do to make or keep his surroundings what they ought to be. Perhaps first come matters of cleanliness. I myself have seen a settlement house in which the upper hall was renovated some months ago and was reported then not to have been painted or papered previously for sixteen years, yet it was not apparently much soiled. On the other hand, I have seen rooms smoked, fly-specked and filthy inside of six months owing to the carelessness of the tenants. Rubbish in front areas may be thrown in by passers-by, but if rubbish accumulates in yards, rear areas or courts, while it may sometimes be thrown there by workmen making repairs, or from adjoining premises, still it is the tenants of the building itself who are responsible in most cases. The same is true of the halls. I have known instances where the front doors were not locked and where boys came in from the streets and marked up the walls and where vagrants sometimes took refuge in the passageway and left fragments of meals and other rubbish about, but usually the tenants cause the uncleanliness here, and certainly they do in the case of their own rooms, except in the comparatively rare instances where they have a heritage of dirty walls and ceilings left them by previous tenants and a negligent landlord, or where a smoky chimney may blacken rooms through no fault of the occupants.

In matters of cleanliness and also in matters of repair a certain amount of deterioration is normal and unavoidable. Renovation and repairs will always be needed in the best conducted houses. But this amount can be immensely increased through carelessness. Tenants can let children break windows and break plaster and scribble on walls and tear wall paper, and adults may chop wood on cellar floors and break the boards or

concrete and throw unsuitable kinds of refuse into plumbing receptacles with resulting stoppage of the pipes, and boys may go into vacant apartments and cut out lead pipes, and in holiday times may carry off fences, cellar doors and shutters to make bonfires. There is no limit to the ways in which tenants and outsiders coming in can wreck a house if they themselves are wholly indifferent and no restraint is placed upon them.

Overcrowding of individual rooms, that much-discussed problem of New York tenement houses, largely the result of high rents, poverty, lack of adequate rapid transit facilities, long hours of work, location of factories in the congested districts, and necessity for living near the place of employment, is nevertheless continued in some cases after the tenants are able to live under better conditions,—partly from ignorance and indifference, partly from undue parsimony, partly from unwillingness to leave a neighborhood in which they have family or social connections and racial, political and religious ties.

Even light and ventilation, which are partly matters of the construction of the building, are still partly under the control of the tenant, too. I have known two men renting five rooms, four light and one dark, to choose the dark room as a bedroom, and use one of the light rooms for a store-room. One of the men was sick and afraid of a draft. I have known a family having a bedroom with windows to a large yard to nail up the windows for the winter. This family was very poor and had thin clothing and bedding and little money to spend for fuel. But these are illustrations of ways in which the tenant himself may produce the unhealthful conditions from which he suffers.

As to protection against loss, personal injury or death from fire, a very serious responsibility rests upon both landlord and tenant. Casualties may be the result of the landlord's lack of provision of fire protection and fire escapes, or of the tenant's negligence. In the Attorney street fire of 1904 in which fourteen lives were lost, the trapping of the helpless tenants in the flames and smoke was on account of a missing fire-escape balcony. But in the Allen street fire of 1905 in which seventeen people were killed, the cutting off of escape was due to the locking of the door giving exit to the roof and the piling of

wood on a fire-escape balcony, completely filling it up, both evidently the acts of people living in the houses. It must be remembered, too, that in the great majority of cases the fire originally starts through the carelessness of tenants, unless it is one of the incendiary fires which have been shockingly frequent in New York in recent years, but, of course, form no large percentage of the total number. The cases in which the landlord is directly or indirectly responsible for the origin of the fire through permitting improperly constructed fire walls or other apparatus provided by him, or allowing chimneys to become foul, or for any other reason, are comparatively rare. But among the common causes of tenement fires, on the other hand, are careless use of matches, upsetting kerosene lamps, carelessness with candles, placing clothing and furniture too near stoves, and so on through a long list of acts of the tenants themselves.

I was reading only a short time ago an interesting article comparing the per-capita property loss from fire in an English and an American city, and laying the blame for the excess of the latter over the former largely upon the careless habits of the Americans. This is a point on which it is difficult to obtain extended exact statistics, but I have no doubt that the opinion of the writer was at least partly correct, though there are many other factors, such as the differences in types of construction, on which all authorities lay emphasis. The comparison, however, was made not between New York city and London, where the great height of the New York buildings would have to be taken into consideration, but between a small American city and a small English city.

The wide questions of social and moral conditions among tenants and of the bearing of labor conditions, the economic factor and the transit situation upon the tenants' mode of living I cannot touch upon in this short talk. I have merely tried to point out the connection between the responsibility of the landlord and the responsibility of the tenant, and to call attention to obvious matters for which the tenant is responsible, and in which he should be held to his responsibility.

I believe firmly that what the majority of tenants need is a chance, that put in a clean, well-constructed, well-managed

house, they will appreciate their surroundings and make some effort to live up to them. I am not saying that tenants are a faultless class of beings, ready to grow wings, but I do believe that even the poorest in our most congested districts in many cases will respond to efforts to improve their environment, and I think that all credit is due to those who keep clean, attractive houses under seemingly impossible circumstances. I have never forgotten an Italian house I saw in a narrow, dark Philadelphia alley—one of a row of seven buildings which had only one hydrant for the seven—and where the water supply was cut off for a period of over three months so that all the families were obliged to draw water in the yard of a neighboring house, sometimes on wash-days forming in line for the purpose. This was in a crowded, smoky, dusty block in the tenement section of the city. Yet I remember that one of the families had clean scrubbed floors, fresh white curtains and neat white bedspreads and pillowshams. A family that could keep such a home as that in such surroundings could pretty nearly make a heaven out of a pigsty.

It is something of which New York has no reason to be proud that often the first thing a newcomer learns on arriving here is that he must put up with overcrowding, in some cases even to the extent of three to six thousand persons to the single block; and that he must put up with dark, unwholesome, interior rooms to which no ray of direct sunlight can possibly enter. From these "errors of our past crystallized into brick and mortar" the tenant of to-day must suffer.

Let us urge the responsibility of the tenant, but not only that—the responsibility of the landlord and the responsibility of the city as a whole for having permitted the unbearable conditions which have grown up in our crowded districts.

THE BEST TYPES OF SMALL HOUSES[1]

MISS HELEN L. PARRISH

Octavia Hill Association, Philadelphia

PHILADELPHIA'S experience shows that it is a practical and profitable business proposition to house the vast majority of her 1,549,000 inhabitants in one-family dwellings. She has 185,000 two-story houses, and 8,034 of these were built in 1910. The usual type of these houses is a six-room dwelling so arranged that there are no rooms without direct access by windows to the outside air. In the newer operations this house is a model of convenience and comfort. It has bath-room, furnace, kitchen sink, range and stationary wash tubs, often in a small extension from the kitchen, besides a porch and yard. Such houses can be bought for from $2,000 to $2,500 and can be rented for from $15 to $20 per month.

Is the price of land so much higher in New Jersey and in some sections of Greater New York that tenements are the only profitable method of housing the working classes? May not Philadelphia's experience suggest better plans?

In this housing awakening throughout the country, the primary methods needed to promote the small house are stronger tenement-house laws—laws that shall set so high a standard for these houses that architects and builders shall turn their ingenuity to devising some more profitable and better method of housing the poor.

Also each community should rouse to its serious responsibility towards all its houses, old and new, and should establish regular inspection and supervision so as to create standards of health and sanitation.

[1] For a detailed description of the small Philadelphia house and the methods by which it is financed see the pamphlet "*One Million People in Small Houses*," by Miss Parrish, published by the National Housing Association.

GARBAGE AND RUBBISH

LUTHER E. LOVEJOY

Secretary, Housing Commission, Detroit

THE accumulation of garbage and rubbish is one of the penalties human society inevitably pays for the luxury of civilization. The immeasurable privilege human beings enjoy of living together in society carries with it the certainty of the inconvenience and sometimes peril involved in the presence of large aggregations of waste matter, animal, vegetable and mineral.

The distinction between garbage and rubbish and the various unsavory and unattractive substances connoted by these familiar terms, requires no more than the barest mention before such a company as this. Garbage may be roughly defined as waste matter, animal or vegetable, left over from the process of collecting and preparing food for human consumption, and of a nature so rapidly perishable as to involve offense or peril to human life. Rubbish may be taken to include waste matter of a less perishable sort, not particularly harmful in its nature, yet such as has served its primary purpose of contributing to human welfare and has now become useless, cumbersome and offensive. The vast proportion of such picturesque accumulations of terrestrial substance as are usually found adorning the back fences and alleys of our handsome city residences in the blooming month of May may be included in the word "rubbish."

In view of the rapidity and ceaselessness with which these accumulations of rubbish and garbage grow, it is evident that among the most important, if not the most exalted, of civic functions is the institution of some effective method by which they may be safely, speedily, frequently, and completely removed from the neighborhood of human habitations. This is important from two considerations. The first is aesthetic.

(1) They are offensive to human sensibilities. Nose and eye unite in perpetual protest against their presence. The house

through whose open doors and windows their heavy perfume is wafted is an undesirable residence. The yard or street or alley fanned by their zephyrs is shunned by all refined natures, except such altruistic souls as may be engaged in housing investigation. They are unsightly beyond almost any other form of offensive matter and their visible presence robs the fairest prospect of beauty and defaces the most elegant abode. That the constant presence of garbage and rubbish in the immediate vicinity of our abodes, and unceasingly laid before the eyes of our neighbors, our children and ourselves, reacts unfavorably upon the moral life and standards of our homes and neighborhood we need not now take time to discuss, for I believe it will be questioned by no one present.

(2) The second and perhaps the most urgent reason for the swift and effectual removal of these substances is, that they are inimical to health. Decomposing organic matter becomes the culture-bed for various forms of disease unfriendly to the physical welfare of men. Garbage is the "happy hunting ground" for that interesting little creature we call the housefly. But more than a hunting ground—it is the family home; it is there the species is reproduced. I have no scientific knowledge of the fly and cannot speak by the book, but I think I have it on excellent hearsay evidence, that between spring and fall two industrious houseflies can become the proud progenitors of at least nineteen quintillions (19,000,000,000,000,000,000) of lusty maggots. Your reeking garbage pails then or your costly cement receptacles, left half open for five or ten days, to fry and stew and seethe and swelter in an August sun, mean nothing less than the production in your city and neighborhood of countless myriads of wriggling, struggling, developing worms, whose natural duty it is to grow up speedily to fly-maturity, to squeeze their way through your imperfectly screened windows, and introduce poison and death into your home. Think for a moment of the diabolical mission of the fly. His little body, legs and wings, clogged with refuse from the garbage pail and poison from the dirty drain, his ample digestive tract stuffed with a million typhoid germs from the privy vault of the low-down family on the street back of you, pushes his way into

your exclusive home, decorates your spotless window-pane with a pigment more deadly than arsenic, saunters across your table, nibbles the edge off your shortcake, samples your jam, bathes in your glass of milk, buzzes about your sleeping baby, lights upon his rosy lips, and then flies away to poison other neighbors, leaving you, perchance, to weep, in weeks to come, over an irreparable and irreconcilable loss, of whose origin you have not the slightest suspicion. Fleas, too, and gnats and mosquitoes, have likewise their deadly functions, all more or less intimately connected with and encouraged by the presence of garbage, filth and rubbish. The reputation of the rat, as a disseminator of plagues destructive to human life, is well established and needs no emphasis. What we most need to remember in this connection is that the rat greatly appreciates the high living he secures from the rich accumulations of nourishing garbage gathering and standing in our neglected cans, or scattered about the yards and alleys. Numerous well-meant proposals for eliminating the rat have been made, but he will hardly consent to be dispossessed of his present abode while his larder is so well supplied.

Having now come into possession of this vast heap of refuse, it becomes necessary to devise some means of getting it safely off our hands. To accomplish this the modern householder and the modern city usually join forces, the former taking the responsibility of properly depositing it in a place convenient for removal, the latter engaging to effect its decent and unobtrusive collection and disposal. Methods for the disposition of household waste are as numerous and varied as are the cities by which it is produced. As to this a few suggestions only need be made. In many cities the waste is separated into three classes—garbage, ashes and domestic rubbish—deposited in separate receptacles and gathered by different wagons, or at least kept separate. In Detroit, for example, the contract with the Garbage Reducing Company demands that only pure and unadulterated garbage be deposited in garbage cans, 10% of any foreign substance justifying the collectors in refusal to remove. All other refuse—ashes, cans, bottles, papers, *etc.*, may be deposited together in the alley, within 3 feet of the lot line

whence the department of public works undertakes to remove it. It was the original plan of the present commissioner of public works to have ashes kept separate from other rubbish, that such salvage as possible might be made from paper, cans, bottles, *etc.*, but it has been impossible for him to carry out this plan. In Minneapolis the classification is slightly different, the regulation calling for complete drainage of garbage. To avoid pollution of the can, and freezing in winter, it is recommended that garbage be rolled up in waste paper, in small parcels, and placed in the cans, which are to be emptied twice a week. All combustible refuse, such as waste paper, sweepings, cast off shoes and clothing, would seem to be included with garbage, while non-combustible refuse would go with the ashes to the city dump.

In method and frequency of collection there seems to be great diversity. Philadelphia regulations, for example, according to my information, call for daily collection of garbage. Cincinnati varies all the way from daily collections in the business section of the city to once in two weeks in the outlying portions. As to disposition of garbage by the householder the most primitive plan, perhaps, after the savage one of moving away and leaving it, is burial. This is troublesome all the time, impossible in winter, impracticable on small lots, and probably of doubtful sanitary value. Burning is frequently recommended. This method has a large element of sanitary safety, but is destructive of stove or furnace, and on foggy mornings, bad for the neighbors. The next step is the deposit of garbage in old boxes, pails, tubs and washboilers, and of rubbish in boxes and barrels, all to be sorted over and nosed about by hungry dogs, cats and rats, mischievous boys, and thrifty ragpickers, while waiting for the infrequent and irregular visit of the city collector. The only safe, cleanly, inoffensive and sanitary way yet devised seems to be that of the use of watertight, covered, locking or clamping metallic cans, one for each household, kept safe from trespass and emptied with absolute regularity and if possible daily. The method of final disposition by the city hardly comes within our province as housing workers, unless the primitive one of feeding to cattle, hogs and chickens,

be considered. The shortcomings and perils of this method as a main dependence for garbage disposal must be apparent to every one of us. Reduction and incineration are two methods most practised by modern municipalities, and each has its advantages and its advocates. But neither this nor the ultimate fate of rubbish need concern us.

That accumulations of garbage and rubbish are inevitable, unwelcome and perilous, and must be removed, may be regarded as settled. How to get them removed safely, speedily, regularly, economically, is the crux of the problem. How to shade smoothly the domestic function off into the civic, how to avoid waste of energy, useless experimentation, friction between householder and public official, makes up the question. Every American city has struggled with this problem, most are still struggling, few have satisfactorily solved it. So far as my brief observation goes, the disposal of waste is still largely a failure. And why? I believe this failure is due to two main causes:

1. Lack of a well considered, obviously wise, workable system, a system sufficiently elastic to be applicable as the city grows, to be equally adaptable to the boulevards and the alleys, to be sufficiently economical to come within the reach of all classes of citizens, while not unduly taxing the resources of the city, to be so adjusted as to place the burden of expense where it fairly belongs, not, on the one hand, overburdening the householder, nor, on the other, the municipality, a system which shall be uniform, regular, stable, effective, cleanly, decent, sanitary, and sufficiently independent to be free from the mutations of changing city administrations or the taint of ward or party politics. I have no such complete system in mind to recommend, but I am persuaded that the brains and energy embodied in the great cities of our land are well able to furnish for us such a system for every city.

2. The second great cause for failure, I believe, lies in the almost absolute lack of coöperation—coöperation between the householder and the city departments, coöperation between the departments themselves. This coöperation opens the road to essential and ultimate success.

Let us begin with the department of public works—suppos-

ing this to be the department charged with the disposal of waste. What forms of coöperation with householders can it adopt, must it adopt, to encourage a universal and cheerful response to its needful regulations? First, a system of regular, frequent and thorough collection. Unless it be regular, householders cannot easily, and will not patiently, adapt themselves to it; unless frequent, they will grumble at the cost of extra receptacles, or find themselves overrun with refuse; unless thorough, they will very soon grow indifferent and slovenly or will lose respect for the department as lacking in either seriousness or efficiency. Second, a spirit of accommodation and kindliness, a readiness on the part of officers and clerks, as well as of collectors, to give needed information, explanation and assistance. Third, thorough introduction to the entire city of a well-published plan, outlining the duties and privileges of householders, the method and time of collection and any law covering the subject. The publication of such a plan is not sufficiently made by one insertion, along with other council proceedings, in the official daily. Such announcement should be briefly, orderly, attractively, prepared and distributed, and redistributed at least yearly, to every householder in the city. I asked the very faithful, efficient and diligent commissioner of public works in a certain western city, where garbage and rubbish regulations were poorly carried out and alleys were a source of annoyance to the entire public, if he had fully informed the householders as to what the department expected of them, He assured me most solemnly that he had, and, in proof thereof, showed me a notice which he said had been distributed right at the beginning in every house in the city. I looked at it, and was amazed no longer. It was a little narrow slip of thin paper, printed in microscopic type, setting forth, in the stilted and formal phraseology of the law, the city ordinance covering the householder's duties, and the penalty for violation. It was, of course, as plain as day to him, but to the untaught foreigner an enigma and to the average American a formal legal notice which was simply intended to be disregarded and destroyed. Why not a large, stiff card, with a hole to hang it up by and type that human eyes can read, with a little display here and there at important

points, and a big red border, and brief, catchy lines that strike the eye and stick in the memory, and simple English, and a little friendly exhortation? And why not arrange to have these cards supplied at once, and kindly explained, to all new comers? It took us six months in a city where we recently lived, to find out what our duties as householders were with respect to household waste. And then we had to go to the city hall and ask for the information. Of course we could have asked about it sooner, but human nature doesn't usually act that way, and we are all human.

The householder, too, can contribute his part to this work of coöperation. He can seek to learn his duty as a cleanly citizen. He can display a spirit of obedience to law. He can treat with common politeness the requirements of those who perform the pleasant function of removing his refuse. He can take an interest in the welfare of his city as a political entity. He can cultivate such altruism as will embrace the poorest of his fellow-citizens. And he can charge himself with sufficient energy and gumption at least to make a heroic attempt to keep himself and his environs clean.

The police department can perform a much neglected part in this work of coöperation. Why should the activities of the police in behalf of clean yards and alleys be confined to the work of the sanitary squad? Why may not the roundsman on his beat give an eye to conditions of cleanliness, and kindly but firmly instruct his little public, and enforce his city's laws? This, I am told, is a part of the program in European cities, and our immigrants expect it and look with amazement and then disgust at our impotence and stupidity in the enforcement of law.

Not the least important is the coöperation our city councils can render in a steady and manly and adequate support of the city's departments and their officers. How often is an efficient commissioner or health officer handicapped by the puerile and needless changing and shifting about on the part of the city council from one method and expedient to another! The energetic public works commissioner in a city well known to me was recently robbed of all courage and incentive to work for a clean city by the council taking from him all such prerogatives

as could offer him any promise of success. A health officer, to whose wise words you have gladly listened more than once at this conference, recently laid before his city in the public press, in strong and stirring words, backed by irresistible facts and figures, the crying need of his department for a little more money and a few more men, that the city's health might be conserved, its homes safeguarded and the lives of its children preserved. And do you suppose his request was granted? You know before I tell you that, judging by all analogy, he got only a crumb where hunger demanded a square meal. Our city's executive officers are of course but human, and liable to error and subject to temptation, but being human, they long for true success, and if we could only learn to study their problems and encourage their endeavors, and help them a little when they get tired, I believe we could make them better officers and better men, and our city a better city. More than new laws, badly as they are needed, more than the commission form of government which looks promising to me, more than any new-fangled methods of dealing with old troubles, we need genuine, manly, frank, unselfish and charitable coöperation on the part of all citizens, public and private.

HOUSING CONDITIONS IN SMALL TOWNS

ELMER S. FORBES

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THE country is at last awake to the presence of a housing problem in the cities. For fifty years and more philanthropists have been trying nobly to stem the tide of disease, insanity, crime, involuntary idleness, poverty and the whole miserable brood of social ills, but the work has grown faster than it can be handled. This method of approach has been largely a failure, and social students and workers finally have come to see that they must deal with these evils at the point of their origin if they are ever to be conquered and banished from society. Three years ago at the meeting of the National Conference of Charities in Richmond Miss Fulmer, Superintendant of the Chicago Visiting Nurse Association, declared that two-thirds of the deserting fathers, one-third of the shiftless mothers and two-thirds of the sick and delinquent children came from the congested districts of the cities; and it may be added that a very large proportion, perhaps two-thirds, of the current vice, crime, degeneracy and poverty come from the same locality. The dwellings of the people are a strategic position. If they are clean, light, well ventilated, with plenty of space around them, neither overcrowded on the land without nor by human beings within, you will have a well-ordered, law-abiding, self-respecting, progressive community. If, on the other hand, dwellings are dark, dirty, ill-smelling, unsanitary, dilapidated, and overcrowded, you will have precisely the situation which obtains in every city of any size from Bangor to San Francisco.

I have said that the country is awake to the housing problem of the city, but the country is not yet awake to the fact that similar conditions are developing in hundreds and probably thousands of the smaller towns, and by towns and villages I mean places ranging from 500 to 25,000 in population. They

are most noticeable in places which are near the cities or in which there is some considerable manufacturing interest, but you will find them everywhere. They are not so evident in the average town, but here and there on the outskirts of the village or on back streets and alleys and even in the open country there can be seen old houses or shacks which exhibit all the characteristics of the worst city slum, as unsanitary and filthy and overcrowded as any building in the North End of Boston or on the East Side of New York.

As a rule, towns and villages do not have slum districts; they have slum spots, the possible nuclei of larger areas, which under favorable circumstances will develop rapidly. These slum spots are of three sorts. First, there is the dilapidated shack or hovel, very often outside the town altogether, where people are living in defiance of every law of health and decency. I can think of half a dozen such moral pest houses in as many towns, in which no farmer who cares anything for his reputation would dream of stabling his cattle. It is utterly impossible to make these places fit for habitation, and nothing but fire can cleanse them of their filth. Drastic treatment is needed for both the buildings and their occupants, who are frequently as disreputable as the dwellings. Next, in country manufacturing towns there are typical tenement houses and lodging houses, dingy barracks where the open front door discloses a dark and forbidding hall, and where further investigation reveals all the common features of tenement-house life, plus a battery of yard privies stewing and festering under the summer sun and threatening the health of the entire community. There is no excuse for the tenement house in the country, there is no excuse for this way of living, and where land is as cheap as it is in some parts of most towns and villages every family ought to have a house and seven or eight thousand feet of land to itself. A third form of dwelling-house construction which deteriorates very rapidly and soon falls into the slum class is the three-family flat or "three-decker." It is enormously popular with speculative builders in both city and country. The Dorchester district of Boston has become a city of three-deckers, and it is a type which is appearing in the smaller places near the cities.

These flats are cheap and flimsy; sometimes they are furnished with but one stairway and are dangerous fire-traps. Frequently they are built close to the front line of the lot, often only 6 or 7 feet apart and nearly as close together in the rear. Some of the rooms in the lower stories may never receive sunlight nor, indeed, any direct light; the yards are damp and dark and littered with ashes and garbage. They soon fall into the class of slum dwellings; and their occupants become a source of expense to the community, entailing larger appropriations for schools, police, fire protection and all the other usual departments, while they contribute nothing to the town treasury but an occasional poll tax. There is a better class of this type of building which stands in a more spacious lot, costs more and is free from some of the worst features of the cheaper flats, but even so it is scarcely less objectionable. In a recent address at the City Club in Boston, President Eliot, commenting on the fact that these houses are being built in large numbers in Cambridge, where he lives, remarked that they house a class of nomads, families that are here to-day and gone to-morrow, that have no stable footing in the town and no interest in its affairs. A nomad race never has developed a high civilization, and he had some apprehension for the effect which a nomad class would have upon ours. Apart from the occupants of the three-decker the building itself has a depressing effect on property values, and wherever it appears it sends down the price of real estate.

The housing problem of the small town, then, is the dilapidated shack, the ordinary overcrowded and unsanitary tenement house, and the three-decker flat. The situation is full of danger, especially in towns which are near the city; it may become acute at any moment. At the same time it can be handled much more easily than can the conditions in the older cities. Slum germs in towns and villages can be destroyed and the future development of slum spots and districts can be prevented.

1. To accomplish this, first and foremost there must be a general campaign of education. Just as the public is being educated on the subject of tuberculosis so it must be educated on the subject of housing. Of the two, housing is the more important, for tuberculosis is a disease of bad housing. Let in

the sunlight and fresh air and you banish consumption. What does it profit the public to spend millions of dollars on hospitals and sanitariums if patients when cured are going back to the dens where they contracted it? By all means teach the public how to avoid tuberculosis, but above all teach the public so to live that it may crush it out and destroy it. The same methods may well be followed that the anti-tuberculosis societies are pursuing. Short and pithy circulars should be prepared which can be distributed broadcast, each one of which should drive home some pointed facts. An effort should be made to get the subject before as many groups of people as possible in the towns and villages—women's clubs, church clubs, lodges, trade unions, debating societies and any other available gatherings. The stereopticon is very useful and should be used wherever possible, because what is seen makes a much stronger impression than what is heard. The suggestion has been made that moving picture films on this subject might be used with great effect. Traveling exhibitions should be prepared showing housing conditions in towns and cities, pointing out the effects in terms of disease, death, crime, delinquency and poverty, and also showing examples of towns which have met these evils and overcome them, or which have taken steps to escape them altogether. The exhibition may well be left in the town library for ten days after an address has been made before a local organization, and together with well written circulars will do much to sustain public interest.

2. An effort should be made to get the towns to adopt a simple tenement-house law as a part of the town by-laws. Such a law should aim to improve the public health and to protect life against danger from fire. Towns do not require and ought never to be cursed with tenement houses. If there is any disposition to put up buildings more than two and one-half stories high or housing more than two families, it may well be provided as a preventive measure that they shall be of fireproof construction. The proportion of the lot which can be built upon, the distance between buildings, the size and lighting of rooms, the necessary sanitary safeguards, and healthful maintenance should be regulated, and these measures if properly enforced will go far towards

warding off the evils which now afflict the cities. A number of towns in Massachusetts are at work upon such housing by-laws, and more will fall into line next year. Sooner or later recourse will no doubt be had to the General Court, but it is interesting to note that meanwhile the towns are looking out for themselves.

3. An efficient board of health is necessary to enforce any such by-law, and in Massachusetts at least there is room for great improvement in the personnel of the country boards. As now constituted the chairman may be a physician, but not necessarily, for the law does not require the presence of a physician on the board; the other members are very likely to have meager qualifications for their work. A board has large powers, and its members should be chosen from the best equipped and most conscientious men in the community. In the discharge of its duties it will frequently come into conflict with fellow townsmen, especially in the enforcement of an effective housing law, and its members should be men who are not afraid to act. An energetic and fearless board would make short work of the disreputable shacks scattered around the country which are now being used as dwellings. Here, again, is seen the necessity for general information as to the principles of good housing and the dangers of bad housing, because if public opinion on the subject is not aroused it will be very difficult to get the best men to serve on boards of health and to secure backing for them if they do consent to serve. Even under a state law the local boards, in Massachusetts at least, will naturally be charged with its enforcement; so in any case the personnel of the board is a matter of great importance.

4. A town plan will be found a valuable aid in securing the right kind of housing. City planning is becoming common, but thus far the movement has scarcely reached the towns, although a plan is just as desirable for a town as it is for a city. Beside securing the more popular features of town life a plan may provide for the laying out of new streets so that dwellings upon them will receive the maximum of sunlight in the living and sleeping rooms; may provide for roadways of suitable width and construction, thus materially affecting the value of abutting property; may insure the planting of trees in such numbers as to

save a town from the hideous bareness of streets so often seen; may establish the sizes of lots, combining with this regulation a by-law fixing the proportion of the lot which can be built upon, so that proper light and ventilation will forever be preserved; and may fix a building line, and a height of construction which may not be exceeded. Such provisions, and regulations of any kind, will be bitterly fought by land speculators and speculative builders in rapidly growing towns, but they will be of immense service in preventing the evils which come from overcrowding the land and which are already showing themselves in towns and villages where those evils ought never to have been permitted to gain a foothold.

5. Much attention should be given to small houses for the families of wage-earners. The ideal of life for any family is a house to itself, well built and sanitary, containing from four to six rooms and bath, or at least with some provision for bathing, and with land enough about it for a garden; the rent to range from $10 to $25 per month. A constant excuse for the tenement house in the country town is that at the present prices of building material and labor it is impossible to build single houses to rent for as low as $10 per month. If this is true it means that unskilled labor, earning from $1.70 to $2 or $2.25 per day, cannot live decently and healthfully and reproduce itself, and this is a situation which may well cause alarm. It is intolerable that human beings should be condemned to such conditions of living anywhere, and most of all is it intolerable in the smaller communities, and if there is no escape we need not be surprised if the rumblings of social discontent grow louder. But I do not believe it is true that single houses are beyond the reach of the unskilled laborer. I am not an architect nor the son of an architect, and may not be able to give a very good reason for the faith that is in me; but I do know that Washington and Philadelphia have come very near to a solution of this problem with their one and two-family houses, with three and four rooms and bath to the apartment, renting for from $9 to $12 per month, and I believe that when the same intelligence and skill are applied to the problem of securing the small detached house at these rates in country towns the problem will be solved. In this connection

an interesting item appeared in a recent number of the *Survey*, in which it was stated that the Worcester County Institution for Savings, in Worcester, Massachusetts, has prepared a large collection of plans for such houses to cost from $1500 to $5000 each, which it offers for the free use of the public. This is an attack upon the housing problem from the constructive side which ought to be widely imitated.

6. Taxation has the closest connection with housing reform in the cities and with the encouragement of good housing in the towns. Vacant land does not bear its proper burden. There are towns where it is extremely difficult to get land for building purposes at anything like a fair price because it is held for speculation, and yet it is taxed at a low valuation compared with land similarly located which is already built upon. This policy inevitably checks building and raises rents. On the other hand, tax land to its full value as land, whether occupied or not, make it more expensive to hold it than to use it, and building will be stimulated, rents will fall, and the housing problem will be solved in the cities and will never appear in country towns; and this conference will go out of business.

7. Fight the three-decker at every point. Demand that it be of fireproof construction if it must be built at all. The Worcester County Institution for Savings refuses to make loans on this class of property, a public service for which it deserves thanks. Urge a general extension of this policy, and if, in addition, the insurance companies would refuse to insure (which is extremely unlikely) the situation would be under control.

These are some of the ways in which this question of bad housing can be approached in the towns. Several are immediately practicable; others will have to win their way to favor and adoption, but together they will do much to secure healthy and attractive homes for all the people.

SANITARY INSPECTION OF TENEMENTS

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DEFINITION

THE sanitary inspection of tenements bears a rather interesting relationship to general sanitary inspection or public sanitation. Sanitary inspection in the general sense has to do with the environment, while the sanitary inspection of tenements has points of contact with both personal and public sanitation. It is the bridge between the two and it has, for this reason, various aspects which are common to both.

The sanitary inspection of tenements is a problem of maintenance as distinguished from the problem of construction. The inspection of construction work is simple as compared with that of securing proper maintenance of housing conditions. Under properly devised laws the inspection department knows at all times when buildings are to be started and it thus has opportunity to inspect while construction is under way and (again under proper laws) it has a final opportunity to inspect and issue an occupation permit before the house may be used. The number of pieces of work under actual construction, while often large, is always small as compared with the number of houses already built and needing inspection. The maintenance work is therefore far more difficult, complicated and important, and almost without exception it has received in this country far less attention than the inspection of houses under construction.

THE AIM OF SANITARY INSPECTION OF TENEMENTS

The aim of this sanitary inspection, as applied to tenements, is to guard against overcrowding, filth, bad ventilation, bad drainage and dampness. These conditions, as is well known, produce immorality in many of its phases. This is bluntly hinted at by Tennyson when he says:

"A single sordid attic holds the living and the dead,
And the smoldering fire of fever creeps along the rotten floor
To the crowded couch of incest in the warrens of the poor."

These miserable conditions in tenements lead to empty tenements and full saloons, dance halls and cheap shows when the people are not at work and ought to be in their homes.

Another evil effect of bad housing is sickness, running through all the zymotic diseases, tuberculosis, nerve diseases, violence, insanity and many others. In regard to the zymotic diseases, Dr. Farr makes this interesting observation: "This class includes fever, small-pox, plague, influenza, cholera, and other diseases which have the peculiar character of suddenly attacking great numbers of people at intervals in unfavorable sanitary conditions. The diseases of this class distinguish one country from another, one year from another; they have formed epochs in chronology, and, as Niebuhr has shown, have influenced not only the fate of cities, such as Athens and Florence, but of empires; they decimate armies, disable fleets; they take the lives of criminals that justice has not condemned; they redouble the dangers of crowded hospitals; they infest the habitations of the poor, and strike the artizan in his strength down from comfort into helpless poverty; they carry away the infant from the mother's breast, and the old man at the end of life; but their direct eruptions are excessively fatal to men in the prime and vigor of age."

These general observations surely indicate the need for sanitary inspection of tenements, but the need may be illustrated by concrete examples, a few of which I desire to take from Boston. We recently found in the North End in Boston an old Italian living in two very small rooms in the top of a two-story shack built in a back yard, the yard being not much larger than the shack itself. This structure was so dilapidated that the winds and the rains had free access to it. Notwithstanding the possibilities for ventilation, during the cold weather the windows were so covered with boards and plugged with rags that the place was close to suffocation and the conditions were practically indescribable. The floor showed no signs of the presence of a

broom, filthy clothing occupied all corners and practically all the furniture. The bed was piled high with filthy bedding, day clothing and, on top of all, a piece of meat, weighing perhaps 8 pounds, which was evidently bought at a bargain sale. It possessed all the colors of the rainbow and all the odors of decaying meat. In a bucket on the floor were chicken giblets and chicken entrails, also in an energetic state of decomposition. These are samples. At the time of one visit, the old man and his visitors (who always seem to be numerous) were sorting beans, and the discarded ones went to the floor where they were ground under foot and added to the general uncleanliness.

Less than three weeks ago a case was found in the West End where a family of Jews had two very large and airy rooms and one small room in an old wooden building. The combination parlor and bedroom showed certain indications of self-respect, but the room used as a kitchen and dining room went as far in the other direction as it is possible to conceive. Here again filthy rags and clothing occupied all available space, actually mingling with the food on the table. The range, the table, the chairs were all covered with dirty plates and remnants of former meals. The offal from fish and animals remained where it fell on the table or on the floor and it showed signs of having rested so for a considerable period of time. The rather youngish young woman who seemed to be in charge manifested a certain amount of energy, because she had succeeded in developing a head gear which was perhaps a little ahead of the up to date, and her cheeks also showed a certain amount of exercise. She apparently did not expect anybody to see the place where she cooked and ate and she was very surly over the situation, both upon our visit and upon the visit of the health officers later.

On the congestion side, Boston can offer plenty of examples. The health department recently took into court a lone woman who, in three small rooms, kept 16 adult lodgers. Under our law she could not be taken into court for maintaining overcrowded conditions, but she was taken in for maintaining a lodging house without a license. In another case we found a family of father, mother and one child keeping 16 adult lodgers in four small rooms, two of them being attic rooms.

Even aristocratic Winchester offers samples of vicious overcrowding. A member of the board of health says that it is not uncommon for a family to take three small rooms, the middle one being used for general living purposes, cooking and eating, one used for the family sleeping purposes, regardless of age or sex, and the third room let, each corner to two men, and the middle to two if it is large enough to hold a fifth bed. Only recently this officer found a child, who had been reported absent from school, in bed in the same room with its father and mother and four brothers and sisters, four men in the middle room and six men in the third room, and the child had scarlet fever. So much for the need of sanitary inspection.

THE METHOD OF INSPECTION

When it comes to the method of inspection there is but little to be said, although to follow that little is all-important. The sanitary inspection of tenements should be regular and complete in the case of each individual house and apartment. The present method so commonly in vogue, that of inspection on complaint, is a mere farce. In only a small number of our cities are there individuals or organizations which take it upon themselves to report bad conditions, and even when they do attempt it their work must be sporadic, spotted and generally unsatisfactory.

Satisfactory inspection requires that there should be a sufficient number of capable inspectors to inspect every apartment in tenement houses at least once in every three months: once in two months would be better and once a month is often necessary in certain districts. This inspection, in order to be efficient, must have adequate expert supervision and it must be backed by a system of records that will make it possible to follow up carefully everything that is done. In addition to this, good legal support is a prime necessity, and the support of an aroused and effective public opinion is necessary. This may be easily observed because it is due to the absence of such a public opinion that we have our present vicious conditions in American cities and towns.

THE CHARACTER OF THE INSPECTOR

The character of the individual inspector is of the utmost importance. Knowledge, tact and energy, combined with universal good-will and confidence in humanity, are absolutely necessary. It may be worth while here to point out that the civil service, with all of its good qualities, is absolutely incapable of picking out, through any ordinary method of examination, a good sanitary inspector. You cannot by any examination paper weigh the qualities required.

WHAT INDIVIDUALS MIGHT DO

It is important to point out the work that individuals and organizations might do in this connection. In Belgium an act of 1889 brought into existence coöperating committees which keep a careful eye on the housing conditions in that country. These committees have, of course, an official character. They give aid in planning and selling dwellings and in finding suitable homes for the working people. The local committee in each instance investigates the sanitary conditions of dwellings and calls to the attention of the landlord any deficiency in the water supply or drainage and any other sanitary difficulty. If the landlord does not heed the notice, the authorities are brought into action and the landlord is compelled to do what is required. We have no coöperating committees of this kind in this country, so far as I know, but we have numerous local organizations which are doing much good work along this line and which can do still more. A prime difficulty is to find volunteers who can do good work. Social workers generally hardly know the difference between a lead pipe and a rubber tube. They have no conception of what is a legal and proper house and they too often seem not to care, although a bad home may be the cause of the very difficulty they are trying so prayerfully and so blindly to cure. It is of the utmost importance that the public know what the local authorities are doing in order that it may support an effective local authority, and stimulate the energy of one that is not effective. The best housing officials in Europe urge this support as an absolute necessity. This is a big and neglected item in the social program of American cities. A

volunteer association with a capable executive offers a quicker way out of our difficulties than anything else. Careful study, publicity and the drafting and enforcement of laws must be in great measure led by such private enterprise.

INSTRUCTIVE SANITARY INSPECTION

Another great need in this country is instructive sanitary inspection, private or public, preferably both. Public instructive inspectors would have the power of the law back of them and they could point the way much more effectively to an indifferent occupant or owner. Without doubt this type of work must be started through private enterprise. It is now being considered by the Woman's Municipal League in Boston, and they will doubtless get it under way during the coming year. The importance, the need and the possibilities of this work are pointed out beyond any question by Mrs. Von Wagner in the *Survey* for March 4, 1911. Such work, as far as it is of a private nature, should form a part of the program of such a private organization as I have mentioned. It is fundamental and imperative, particularly among our mixed populations.

HOUSE CENSUS

I think it should be said that preliminary to everything that has been suggested there should be a careful housing census with a detailed statement of conditions, ownership, occupancy, everything, in each individual instance. It seems more than inconsistent that in order to run our corrupt political machinery we take a careful census of individuals, but never deem it worth while to make a census of such important units as houses, any one of which may contain anywhere from two to two hundred human beings. Such a census would serve as an excellent foundation for any system of records. The changes for good or bad should in each case be noted in connection with the original report, and in this way a history of each house would be maintained from the time the original census was made. The condition of each house should be at all times known to the authorities, and then it would depend entirely upon the efficiency of the supervising authority whether or not the houses were kept in proper condition.

DISCUSSION

A Housing Program

By Lawrence Veiller

Mr. Robert W. deForest presiding

Saturday, June 3, at 3 o'clock

The President:

I am glad to notice that Mr. Veiller did not read a paper. What he said is open to discussion, and the first gentleman to be called upon is Mr. John M. Glenn, Director of the Russell Sage Foundation.

Mr. Glenn:

I come from a city which Mr. Veiller has been accusing, Baltimore. There cesspools have unquestionably been a great nuisance. While in Baltimore most of the houses are only two stories in height with plenty of light and air, the cesspools are everywhere. Fortunately the fine new sewage system will soon supplant them. But Baltimore's experience is a warning to other smaller cities to prevent at once the growth of this evil.

There is in Baltimore another evil which is little recognized, namely, the crowding of several families into old houses originally meant for a single well-to-do family. They are too large for one family of laboring people and have been utilized to house from three to seven or eight families. The resulting conditions are as bad as anything that exists in the city of New York or anywhere else. In St. Louis similar conditions exist.

St. Louis took a tremendous jump at one time, and many people moved from the central part of the city out toward the western part near the park. It looked as if the intermediate houses which were left by the well-to-do were becoming overcrowded by poor people, and as if bad conditions would result if something was not done. This is a very difficult thing to stop, because it cannot be easily remedied by legislation.

Two things are vital to the carrying out of a housing pro-

gram: first, knowledge of conditions; second, enforcement of legislation. The reason we have bad housing conditions, as a rule, is that people do not know what is going on outside of their own immediate neighborhood; often they do not even know what is happening near them. Some of the most serious housing problems in Baltimore arise from the alleys which are just back of some of the wealthiest people's houses. They do not realize that while unhealthy conditions exist in their neighborhood they are just as much in danger as the individual who is directly affected; that filth and disease are sources of danger not only to the people living in bad houses, but also to their neighbors, and to the whole community; there is danger, for instance, of the spreading of disease by flies and mosquitoes, or by the contact of one set of children with another set, both on the streets and in the public schools. People do not try to know what is going on immediately around them, still less do they consider conditions in other parts of the city.

The first thing, therefore, in starting a city-planning program is to find out what the conditions are; the next most vital thing is the enforcement of the provisions of the building and sanitary codes. We in America have tremendous faith, in this age, in legislation. We believe when we put a law on the statute-book that we have done a fine thing. As a matter of fact that is only a preliminary step. We have many laws on the statute-books which would be good if they were enforced, but they are not enforced; they are a dead letter, because the city authorities and those who should force the city authorities to do what is necessary are not willing to spend the necessary money. They are not willing, for instance, to have sufficient housing and sanitary inspectors. That is one of the greatest lessons we have to learn in America, that laws do not enforce themselves nor do they arouse public opinion; on the contrary, they very often quiet it, and lessen the general vigilance.

The enforcement of laws is economical, not wasteful. It results first in curing and reducing the evils, and second, in giving us the knowledge necessary as a foundation for preventive and constructive work. The dissemination of facts about housing and health and the enforcement of laws can fairly be laid chiefly

on the municipalities. It is of prime importance to educate municipalities to take up their full share of the burden of freeing us from these flagrant evils.

Health boards, building commissions, and other public agencies are especially weak in gathering and spreading information. What Mr. Veiller and other agencies have been doing to educate their communities by getting before them the facts, ought to be done by every health board and every public commission in the country. I urge those who are here that in their respective cities they make every effort possible to induce public authorities to realize their opportunities as educators, as developers of publicity, and that they urge city councils and taxpayers to provide the means to make known conditions and remedies, as well as the means to enforce the laws.

THE PRESIDENT:

We shall now hear from Prof. Farnam, of Yale University, who needs no introduction to this audience.

PROFESSOR HENRY W. FARNAM, New Haven:

This program, as Mr. Veiller well said, ought to consider the causes of the housing problem. If we go a little further back we shall, I think, find that the fundamental economic cause is our great desire to build up our country, and, in particular, our cities, and that this leads us to stimulate a two-fold movement, first from foreign countries to the United States, and then from the rural districts to the cities. In other words, in most of our modern cities the housing evils are those which arise out of migration.

Mr. Veiller spoke of selecting tenants, but of course if the landlord selects his tenants, and if all landlords take only those tenants that are desirable, there will be a certain number left over, who must be either deported or in some other way disposed of, so that his idea of selection, which I think is an admirable one, should, it seems to me, apply not only to the landlord, but to the country as a whole. In other words, we have before us really this great problem of securing the labor force which we absolutely need, without at the same

time developing the sanitary and other evils which we all recognize. No intelligent stock-breeder, for instance, would import a lot of Guernsey cattle unless he had a stable in which to house them, and yet we urge human beings to come over without making any adequate provision for taking care of them when they arrive.

In the early days of this country you will find that the settlers, especially in New England, took great pains to provide in advance a regular system of settlement. In New Haven the town plot was laid out in nine squares, and certain lots were assigned for public purposes, and other lots were assigned to individual settlers for dwelling, for farming, *etc.* If we recall the lessons which our ancestors taught us, we realize that this housing-reform movement is merely a revival and an adaptation to modern conditions of some of those wise lessons.

I agree with Mr. Veiller in thinking that it is not the greed of landlords which is predominant; I think it is national greed, or, you may say, a disproportion between the national desire for wealth and an appreciation of the responsibilities which go with that desire, that is really at the root of this problem.

THE PRESIDENT:

This is an open forum, but necessarily I think we shall have to limit speakers to five minutes, unless there be some vote which extends their time.

MR. CHARLES H. SCHNELLE, United Real Estate Owners, New York City:

I have had thirty years' experience in handling taxpayers' property, from the lowest kind to the high-class apartment, and I want to give you a partial remedy. This is the age of arbitration. I have heard the word "legislation" so often this afternoon that it has really become tiresome. I have had quite a little to do with legislation, especially in the interest of real-estate owners, and I have just this to say on the subject. When the chairman addressed the meeting he said that there were representatives of chambers of commerce, charity organizations and various other bodies but not of real-estate owners.

Now, I believe that is where a great mistake is made, that these conferences are held without asking the coöperation of the men who are financially touched in this matter. These real-estate owners, these landlords, so-called, have their capital invested, but they are not all, as some of them are pictured to be, people who are trying to get everything out of the dollar that they can get. I class myself as one of those who do not try to get everything out of a poor soul. I will state that in my experience for thirty years I have never yet used the privilege of a dispossess to put out a family in the street. With consent of the owners, I have taken care of at least a dozen families whose rent was four, five or six months behind, not only because I felt that it was doing justice to those people who were in an unfortunate condition at the time, but also because I did not believe that any loss would result from it. I am taking care of some now. One person, even yesterday, paid me one dollar on account of six months' rent, for instance. Now, I am not doing that on my own responsibility, but I am trying to educate the owners and persuade them that it is in a good cause. Therefore I want to speak for the poor, down-trodden landlord. Do not believe that because a man owns a building he has no heart.

I represent, not officially this afternoon, but as a member, an association of real-estate owners, and I have always invited, and Mr. Veiller knows it, conferences with him. But your organizations have never yet asked for conferences with us, and I think that is unfair. It is easy, as some one stated here recently, to be charitable with other people's money. You jump from your association to the legislature, and never ask the owners, "Can't we get together?" I should think it would be a good idea in connection with your association to form a little get-together club. I think you will accomplish much more by getting some of the men that are really interested in the cause of getting good tenement properties, even if they have a cheap class, to get together with your people, rather than continually to pound and pound without giving them a chance to remedy the conditions which exist, except by going to the legislature.

That is wrong. I speak for one who is connected with various

philanthropic organizations, and I have come here this afternoon just to give you this advice. If you will follow it you will accomplish much more than by going to the legislature. Confer with real-estate owners, and I will assure you —I have quite a little influence with them —I assure you, if you have those talks with real-estate owners, and with other people who are financially interested, you have nothing to lose. Now you simply go to the legislature, forgetting that these men and women have their life income invested in this property. But if you had conferences with these people, especially those that have charity in them—there are a great many in New York city, even if they do own real estate, that have some charity in them—they will glady assist in the organization that is trying to lift up the down-trodden. I trust that hereafter when these conferences are being held, the men and the women who are financially interested in these matters may be invited to take part. Thank you.

THE PRESIDENT:

I am glad to have the real-estate owner speak. Mr. Schnelle is mistaken, however, if he supposes the real-estate owners are not invited and working here. We have on our program Mr. Adolph Bloch, representing the very people to whom he has referred. I know it, because I have been opposed to him as representing the United Real Estate Owners' Association. I am glad, too, that Mr. Schnelle spoke of the desirability of getting together. It is a doctrine which I practise, as he knows. We also have here present the largest owner of New York tenement property in this city, in the person of Dr. E. R. L. Gould, president of the City and Suburban Homes Company. I hope that the real-estate owners will feel that they are just as welcome here as anyone else. I have a personal feeling about that, because I am a real-estate owner myself. I will now call upon Mr. Bogen, of Cincinnati.

DR. BORIS D. BOGEN, Chairman Housing Committee, Social Workers Club, Cincinnati.

I come from a small town, or rather village, called Cincinnati,

and I was surprised to-day to learn a new cause of existing tenement conditions, namely, the immigrant. Judging by that, we ought to have no tenement-house situation of any consequence in Cincinnati, for our foreigners are very few and our immigration is very small.

In discussing this situation we ought to make up our minds first of all not to fear to tell the truth about it. I believe the tenement-house situation has an economic basis, and every city in the appropriate economic stage will have the same symptoms of economic deficiency. To blame the poor immigrant for coming before his house is built, or to blame the foreigner because he did not attend public school before coming to this country, is not a correct diagnosis of the situation. With all due respect to the speaker, I think it my duty to object to his statements. When I came to this country my house was not built, and I did not know how to live until I was given a chance.

MR. CHARLES B. BALL, Board of Health, Chicago:

I have been much interested in this question of ownership. There are those in this room who will remember the case of the man in New York city who very shortly after the passage of the law of 1901 sold three-quarters of a million dollars' worth of tenements in order to escape the operation of that law.

The greatest difficulty we have in Chicago is the lack of knowledge of landlords of what their property is like, and I am sure that is true as to many cities. But we have also the individual ownership of tenements by owners whose standards are very low. We can find thousands of houses on small lots where there are from three to eight families, usually in two houses, where the owner lives on the premises, and in the poorest apartment. It is almost impossible to raise the standards of such owners to correspond with those of the law. It is a tremendous difficulty.

One of the things we have to contend with in Chicago is that we have hundreds of families that depend upon water-closets under the front vaults. The tenants of a number of stories in a rear building have to come down to the ground and go underneath the front walk to get to a toilet. That is an evil lacking in New York.

I was quite struck with Mr. Glenn's statement that good laws quiet public opinion. There are many people that go to sleep just as soon as a law is passed. That is just the beginning. If every one were up and doing after a law had been passed we should make progress. The best example of that is a recent one in Chicago. We passed a law imposing the care of sanitation of street cars upon the sanitary bureau of the department of health. There are something more than 5000 street cars in Chicago, and it was impossible to get from our finance committee an appropriation for five inspectors, 1000 cars apiece, to clean up those street cars. The consequence is that we are constantly blamed for not enforcing that law, and we have not been enforcing it, but we can show that there is a good reason for failure. These points are well worth our attention.

MR. PAUL C. FEISS, Chairman Housing Committee, Chamber of Commerce, Cleveland:

It seems to me that in discussing a program we must define who "we" are. Although the speaker and those who have followed said that we must do this and we must do that, and that the city officials and that the city agencies have not been able to do it for lack of the appropriation of various moneys, I should like to ask, who is "we?" It seems to me that "we" in almost every case is the independent volunteer agency, whether it is a tenement-house commission connected with a chamber of commerce or some other society. Whatever form it takes, it is evidently a volunteer, unpaid agency, which may have a paid secretary.

This is an interesting thing which has come into being in our American cities, and is taking a very important place in city affairs. The difficulties that city officials are having, and the great number of impediments that are put in their way are obvious to anybody who has worked with them. It seems to me, therefore, that the first thing we should do is to get a well-regulated committee composed of men and women who are willing to give their time to the work unstintedly and with real enthusiasm. Such a committee has tremendous strength, and can perhaps better than a city official create opinion; it can

have tremendous power, because it is not affiliated with any political organization in guiding public opinion, and in assisting the city officials. I think that is the beginning; it is thence that the real impetus must come.

There is one other thing that I have not heard mentioned in connection with the growth of our cities, and that is the desire of cities to become bigger. We are speaking continually of getting "back to nature," and yet every city watches with great interest for the next census report, and looks toward the goal of a large number of inhabitants. Some time ago, at a meeting of a committee in our city, plans were discussed to increase industrial diversification, and also incidentally to bring more people to the city. I said that it was a great mistake, and that, although there should not be objection to any movement making the city of Cleveland larger, if it was a natural one, the growth should not be stimulated. One of the things we should do to-day in order to prevent housing evils is to keep our cities smaller. It may sound silly, but I think it is one of the things we ought to have in mind.

DR. W. H. FUCHS, Housing Committee, Civic League, St. Louis:

It has been correctly stated that every city has individual peculiarities regarding housing and sanitation problems. Maybe the factor of financial returns from tenement property is peculiar to St. Louis, although it would hardly be reasonable to suppose that we are unique in that respect. At any rate, property of this character is left in charge of real-estate agents whose success in this kind of business depends, not so much upon the maintenance of a proper physical or sanitary condition of the property in their charge, as upon the financial returns they are able to make for the owners of the property. This disregard, on their part, for a proper sanitary standard creates one of the most difficult problems with which we have to contend.

Only recently the Civic League committee made a trip through the city to inspect various sanitary—or rather unsanitary—conditions, such as back yards, privy vaults, school sinks, underground bakeries and dairies within the city limits, which demanded attention and proper regulation. We were astounded

at the atrocious state of affairs existing at some points. We have not the problem of many-storied tenements with rooms having no communication with the outer air, lack of light, *etc.*, as you have it in New York city, but we do have the problem of filthy back yards, privy vaults and school sinks, in a much more acute form than here.

There are three great difficulties in the way of a proper legislative remedy. The first is that we cannot make new legislation retroactive. It is comparatively easy to enact laws providing for the proper sanitary safeguards in the construction of new tenement property. The difficulty lies in overcoming united opposition to any laws the intent of which is to compel owners of old property to spend some of the income derived, so as to make it conform to the demands of modern sanitation.

The second is, that we cannot secure for the sanitary department of a municipality an appropriation in the annual budget sufficient for the employment of an adequate number of sanitary inspectors and other employes to carry out the provisions of legislative enactments. This difficulty exists particularly in St. Louis. This will be more thoroughly appreciated by you when I say that we have only the following members constituting the entire sanitary force of our city : one chief sanitary officer (assistant health commissioner) ; assistant chief sanitary officer; seven chief district inspectors; twenty-nine district inspectors; four store (shop) inspectors; four dairy inspectors; four meat inspectors; four posters of infectious-disease placards; one chief fumigator; one assistant chief fumigator; six fumigators; and seven assistant fumigators; a total of sixty-nine. The enormity of their task becomes more apparent when I tell you that we have a population of about 800,000; that our ratio of area to population is probably the largest of any city in the world; that we have nineteen miles of river-front to inspect; that during the past winter there were reported fifteen hundred cases of measles per month during several months, in all of which the houses had to be placarded, besides hundreds of cases of diphtheria and scarlet fever, in each instance of which thorough fumigation was done, lasting from two to four hours. One district, comprising considerable territory and a population

of about 140,000, was in the hands of only four sanitary inspectors.

The third difficulty, and the greatest of all, is the education of the public at large in the need of higher sanitary standards; and, more particularly, the teaching of the inhabitants of tenement districts better habits of life, the relationship of cleanliness and health and a proper regard for the comfort and happiness of their neighbors. In common with other large cities St. Louis has had an enormous influx of foreigners, chiefly Italians, Russian Jews and Hungarians. In the speaker's own experience he has seen one room, about 14 by 16 feet, housing twenty-two Italian laborers. They slept on filthy blankets on narrow shelves three tiers high arranged along the walls of the room. In another instance, in two rooms, each about 16 by 18 feet, were housed four couples and seventeen single men, all Hungarians. All but two of the inmates were regularly employed, and the wages earned were one dollar per day for the two women, and from $1.25 to $4.50 per day for the twenty-one men. These people are often not so much ignorant of sanitary laws as anxious to accumulate a competence, which is sent to their native country in instalments, to be followed by the individual when enough has been accumulated to enable him to live in comparative comfort.

But we are at work in St. Louis, and our aim is to create strong and sufficient public sentiment to ensure the enactment of sanitary regulations which will make our city the cleanest and most healthful in the world.

One other point deserves emphasis, and might be effectively used in our municipal campaign for sanitary reform. Every American has referred with great pride to the magnificent work accomplished by the sanitary division of the United States Army in the Philippines, Cuba and the Canal Zone. It should be easy to awaken a similar feeling and degree of pride in any citizen for the sanitary reform to be accomplished by his own municipality and to enlist his active support of measures directed to that end.

DR. EDWARD T. DEVINE, Secretary Charity Organization Society, New York City:

There is one point on which I find myself in disagreement with my comrade in arms, Mr. Veiller. I agree most emphatically with all that he put into his program, and with the emphasis which he put upon it. But the point upon which I do not find myself in agreement is as to the relation which he indicates between the housing movement and certain other things which he refers to as allied to it, and as touching it at one or two different points, but which, on the contrary, to me seem to be vital and integral parts of the movement itself. I refer to town planning, the control of transit facilities, and taxation. I am surprised that when town planning arises in Mr. Veiller's mind, he thinks of magnificent parkways and beautifully laid-out schemes for civic centers; and I have to say this, that if the people's minds run to esthetic considerations such as he has described, it is because the people who have their feet on the ground in reference to housing have not taken so much part as they should in town-planning conferences.

It seems to me that town planning should suggest to our minds the making of a definite city plan, with the control of factories and the distribution of factories in such a way as to influence the housing problem, the preparation of land for the provision of sewers and pavements and roads in advance of the needs of population in such a way as to influence directly the character and the location of the homes that the people are to occupy. In the same way I think our interest in rapid transit and in the development of our transportation facilities should take the form of influencing directly the distribution of population, and that the modification of our taxation system, by putting heavier burdens upon unoccupied land and lighter burdens, relatively, upon factories and dwellings, should have the social and economic purpose of influencing the kind of homes that the people shall have, the location of those homes and the rents that they shall pay for them. Those things seem to me to be vitally and integrally related, and not merely incidentally related to the housing problem.

DISCUSSION

THE PROBLEMS OF THE SMALL HOUSE

By OTTO W. DAVIS

MR. ROBERT W. DEFOREST presiding

Saturday, June 3, at 3 o'clock

DR. F. E. FRONCZAK, Health Commissioner, Buffalo:

For the last fifteen years I have been attending various conferences, but I have never attended a conference where I met so many "knockers" as at this conference. Almost every body who has spoken here to-day seems to have criticized his own home city, but I am not going to do it. Buffalo is my native town. I did not come over in the Mayflower, and neither did my ancestors come over on that boat. I, in common with a few others, am a descendant of an immigrant; in fact we are all a collection of immigrants, and it is only a question of how many generations back we arrived here. Most of the speakers here are foreigners or sons of foreigners. Now, Buffalo is a very cosmopolitan city. It contains about 99½ per cent of foreigners, and the rest, one-half of one per cent, are only American citizens about two or three generations back.

Buffalo has had a very serious small-house problem; in fact the question of the tenement-house problem has been so burning in Buffalo for the last two or three decades that, as Mr. Veiller has said himself, in the circular giving the objects of the National Housing Association, as early as 1892 Buffalo took hold of the tenement-house question and the housing question, and the question of the tenement-house law, and the result has been that conditions have improved very much since the tenement-house laws of 1902, but they are far from what they ought to be. Buffalo has no alley question, and it has really no question of tenement-houses, or buildings where 40 or 60 or 80 tenants live in one room, and there are absolutely no three-deckers. It is a city composed of small tenements only.

I was born in a district, and have lived for the last thirty years

in a district composed of tenements having three or four families at the most, in the Polish section of the city of Buffalo. There are between 80,000 and 90,000 Poles in the city of Buffalo living in a district comprising about two square miles, and all of them living in houses which have, at the most, four families. I do not know of any single building anywhere, in the two square miles of the so-called New Poland of Buffalo, where there are more than eight families living, and since I became health commissioner of the city of Buffalo, more than a year ago, I have refused to sign any application to build a tenement house in which they were trying to put more than four families. I believe in the small cottage, and I believe that a building built for two families at the most is enough. Of course these tenement houses, or these small houses, may be "fixed" in some way—the law governing tenement houses may be evaded by building back-to-back houses, having two families in each house. Really, they are tenement houses, but technically they have escaped that name. Ninety-nine per cent of the small houses of Buffalo are built at least four feet away from the neighboring houses with yards of at least twenty or thirty feet. Therefore I was very much surprised, when I went over the tenement-house reports recently, to find that in the inspection made last year 276 rooms were found which were windowless. These dark rooms are in the old part, at present occupied by Italians, but even there these conditions have been rapidly remedied—and wherever possible we give them only ten days' notice to correct any dark-room condition. We have no rooms in the cellars. I do not believe the city of Buffalo can show 100 families living in cellars, and at present no building is allowed to be put up which will permit any family to live in a cellar. Anyone who has read the book of Mr. Veiller on "*Housing and Health*," anyone who has read the pamphlet by Mr. Ford, of Harvard University, and anyone who has read and digested the President's home-commission report, has learned all there is to be learned on the subject of small houses; and if he puts his knowledge into practise there is no need for conferences to be held or for a poor amateur like me to give you professionals any advice.

Our problem is not that of ventilation, or of privacy, because every two families in Buffalo are supposed to have toilet facilities, and if they do not, we want to know the reason why, and when it is found out I see that they are provided with such facilities within ten days. The question with us is how to prevent keeping boarders in a small house. I have had a number of night inspections made, and wherever we found that more people slept in a room than the laws permitted, namely, one person for each four hundred cubic feet, I have seen to it that within five days the boarders were removed, and if they were not we have always found some good reason for prosecuting the owner or the tenant, and so far we have had no failures.

Of course, I have a bad reputation in Buffalo, where I am known as a tyrant, and I dare say that if you put it to a popular vote as to who is the most unpopular man in Buffalo, I should win hands down. But I believe in good housing conditions, and I believe that the only way of attaining results, and the only way to teach people the proper way to live is to go about it in somewhat of a "tyrannical" way. The only reason that I know it, is because I have lived among them, and I live among them to-day. I want the conditions to improve and the way to have them improve is to teach people that the small house, built for two or four people, is not the house built for two or four families.

Of course, under the state law, the tenement-house law, much can be done if the house is a tenement house having three families or four, or where three families have certain common rights and where cooking is done on the premises; but in any building where there are only two families living, another situation exists under the law, and I believe that if a law were passed, and carried out, whereby the two-family house and the one-family house, which does not comply at least with the regulations provided by the tenement-house law—if such a law could be in some way enforced, then those conditions could be removed and I believe much would be done.

John Daniels, of Harvard, last year, made a survey of the city of Buffalo, and especially of the Polish section, and if John Daniels were to do nothing more in his life than he did in placing before the citizens of Buffalo the conditions existing in

some parts of the city, he would have done enough. The result of this was the addition of six tenement-house inspectors to the existing force in the health department. On my part it was a case of telling them, "You must provide what the health department wants or look for another health commissioner," and the city of Buffalo did provide these tenement-house inspectors, and they are doing great work, not only in tenement-houses but in small houses built for one family or two.

Much can be said on the question of the small house, but as I stated before, you do not have to listen to me. When you get home to-night, if you have not already got the book on the subject,—Mr. Veiller's *Housing and Health*—I advise you to get a copy and digest it and learn it by heart, and then go ahead and follow its advice, and the small-house question will be solved.[1]

MR. C. A. HALBERT, Secretary Board of Public Welfare, Kansas City, Mo:

The question raised by Mr. Davis in his paper as to why the same amount of consideration is not given to the regulation of small houses as of tenement houses, is an interesting one, but to anyone who has attempted to promote social legislation the answer soon appears, I think. It is the same that you find when you want to regulate compensation, or almost anything else; that is, that the constitution is in the way.

The preamble of the constitution says that it is to promote the general welfare, but the interpretation of that is that oftentimes it is to protect the interests of property and to hinder the promotion of the general welfare where it conflicts with those interests. That may seem to be an unreasonable statement, but is it not really true? The reason that legislation was first directed to tenement houses was that tenement houses were supposed to be a little more public in their function than private houses, and that they contained two or three families that had to use certain hallways and other things together. Hence these places were considered public and therefore subject to public legislation, and legislators did not find it practicable to

[1] See also Veiller's *Housing Reform* and *Model Tenement House Law*.

extend the legislation to any other class of houses for fear that it might be interpreted as an encroachment on the rights of private property or private owners. So, as sentiment changes and the constitution changes and judges change, and find that some things are constitutional that they did not think constitutional in the first place, probably they will find out by and by that it is constitutional to provide regulations for the single-family house. One of the difficulties with single-family houses that we have discovered in Kansas City is a lack of water supply and sewerage. The city limits include large territory, and new buildings are often erected so far from the center of the town that the water system has not been extended to connect with them, and the same is true of the sewer system. The people have unsanitary wells, and they provide privy vaults, which, when the city development reaches that far, have to be abolished.

Some European cities make it a regulation that when ground is plotted the sewer and water systems must be put in before any building operations are commenced, and it seems to me that that would prevent our having to go back and correct quite a number of these things that arise in that way, where the city is built before those provisions are made. While it is not altogether germane to this, I should like to take a moment or two to relate what we have been doing in Kansas City. One of the things relates to small houses, and that is that the "Patch" in Kansas City has been entirely wiped out. The "Patch" was a small section of houses on the Kansas side of the city arranged irregularly, with paths running between them. Although they did not hold many people, Professor Graham Taylor said in 1903 that it was the worst place sociologically that he had ever seen in the United States. That "Patch" has been entirely wiped out through the activities of the city authorities who found it a nuisance and a menace to the general health of the community. It was the activities of the attorney general's office that led to its being destroyed.

The Board of Public Welfare, with which I am connected, is concerned with public investigations for two reasons; one is, that the ordinance says that the board's investigators shall

investigate conditions of living, and the other is that the work of the Tenement House Commission was passed over to the Board of Public Welfare when that board was established. We have spent something like $3,500 in investigation, which included both small houses and tenement houses, without regard to any legal definition. The result has been the inspection of some 6,000 houses, and complaints were made to the various authorities that could remedy them in the case of about 2,000. We know that some 600 have been improved; for our investigators have gone back to see if there were any results coming from their complaints, and they have found that improvements costing at least $25,000 have been made, at an expense for investigation of only about $3,500.

THE PRESIDENT:

While somebody is making up his mind what to say on this general subject, I will say two or three words myself. As a lawyer, I feel obliged to come to the rescue of the constitution, and to say that there is no constitutional objection to regulating sanitary conditions in the two-family and single-family house.

The question that Mr. Davis has raised is an exceedingly interesting one. It is practically this: Should some of the regulations that have been applied to tenements be extended to some of the other types of houses; that is, should the two-family house, or possibly the single-family house, be brought under the same regulations as the house occupied by three or more families? Heretofore this has not been done. It is not so many years since there was no regulation at all with regard to three or more family houses, that is, tenement houses. There are strong fundamental reasons lying in the liberty of the individual, which we American people have acted upon in the past, and which lead us not to impose government regulation upon our activities unless there be some controlling reason for doing it; unless there be some evil sufficiently great to warrant restraining our liberty in the use of our property. Those of you who are familiar with country conditions realize that in building in the country, even if you build a tenement house, you meet no building regulation, no tenement regulation, and no special

sanitary regulation outside the fundamental principles of sanitary law. In the country any of us can build as we please. Why? Because up to the present time the evils incident to letting people build in the country as they please have not been sufficiently great to warrant any restraint upon the liberty of the individual in using his property. Carry that further to the small village or town. It is not until the village begins to grow into the town or the town into the city, that we have anything in the nature of regulation applicable to any kind of structure. That is because the evil of that degree of freedom has not been sufficiently patent to warrant interference with individual action. We have proceeded upon the hypothesis, and that hypothesis is justified in most instances, that a person who builds a single-family house for himself or for his neighbor will presumably build it for himself or his neighbor so that it will be safe to occupy and will not be harmful to the community. We have proceeded hitherto on that same hypothesis in regard to two families, and it is only when it comes to three-family houses that we have thought it necessary thus far to intervene. Should we now, for the protection of the public, go farther than we have gone? That is the question raised by Mr. Davis's paper and it is an exceedingly interesting question. The evils of the two-family houses of which he has spoken, dark rooms and lack of toilet facilities and running water, are real evils. Do these evils make it wise or necessary to go further? That is the question.

MR. BALL:

One of the points in which Chicago has been preëminent, is that in copying in 1902 the New York standard our ordinance prescribed that it should apply to two-family houses. It has been so for nine years, and it was, I think, the first and most noteworthy example in that regard.

I do not think there is any probability that it will be changed in Chicago. The regulation of the single-family house, however, was absolutely lacking until this year. Our tenement code, which took effect January 12th, describes habitable rooms with practically the same conditions that are prescribed for such rooms in tenement houses. Heretofore a man could build over

his entire lot, if he were building a residence: he could build rooms as small as he pleased, entirely without windows and with any ceiling height that he desired. Strange to say, some of the strongest objections to the inclusion of such dwellings, in respect to habitable rooms, came from architects who have been designing for wealthy people, who said that they wanted to build in these great houses small rooms for servants.

DR. DEVINE:

My friend from Indiana, who will not speak out in meeting, although I had hoped she would, calls my attention to the fact that the law in three cities in Indiana,—Evansville, Fort Wayne and Indianapolis,—applies also to all two-family houses as well as three-family houses.

DR. GUY L. KIEFER, Health Officer, Detroit:

It has seemed to me, in listening to the discussions, that the program mapped out for the correction of the evils, namely, one of education and the enforcement of legislation, is absolutely correct, and if I am to say something I would strongly emphasize the educational feature of it.

In Detroit we have a housing problem. Mr. Veiller said something to you about our having alleys. We have alleys, and we have bad housing conditions arising from a situation similar to that described this afternoon as existing in Baltimore, where houses now too large for one family are being occupied by a number of families. We have also two-family houses where there is a lack of toilet facilities, where privies still exist, and where there are some other conditions similar to those described.

We have no specific law governing these conditions, but we have general health laws. The laws govern sanitary conditions in cities and villages and townships, and we have health-board regulations, which have the effect of ordinances, requiring that no unsanitary conditions such as have been described shall exist, whether the house is occupied by one family or more than one.

To achieve success in bringing about better conditions we must have a campaign of education; if you have the people

educated to favor better conditions, you will get them. Sometimes the health officer is said not to know the conditions, but he knows them. I know them. I have been health officer of the city of Detroit for ten years. I know the conditions, but I cannot do much about these things unless the people want it done, and on this account we need a campaign of education. In other words, we welcome the coöperation of the various charitable organizations that have to do with these things, and we want them to create sentiment for us. We will show them the conditions, for we know where they are. We have corrected some of them by enforcing the law, and if we keep at it we shall certainly get results. Why are we getting results? It is because of the education that has been going on. For example, in the case of tuberculosis, the people are beginning to believe that there is need for regulation, and the courts are taking notice. Now, if we can get people to take notice about unsanitary conditions, we can enforce our regulations, and it seems to me that it is a matter of education, more education, and again more education.

DR. H. K. BEATTY, Health Department, Pittsburgh:

Every Tuesday morning, or every other Tuesday morning, I get before me fifty-four inspectors and talk to them on personal sanitation and tell them how they shall talk to the people with whom they come in contact. I tell them that they must tell those people how to live. We have nearly as many foreigners in Pittsburgh as they have in Buffalo, and the foreigners are getting to be the cleanest people in Pittsburgh. This is due to education, and it is something new. When they get clean, they are so pleased that they tell everybody else, and they go back to the old country telling their people how nice it is to be decent and clean; thus they are carrying the Bible to the heathen. So, if you go at it in the proper way, you can accomplish much by education.

Every two weeks I go to my plumbing inspectors, of whom I have sixteen, and tell them what I want them to do in regard to the inspection of plumbing; I tell them what to say to the people who have bad plumbing; I say to them what I want them to

say to the people who will not permit them to go into their houses to make an inspection; above all, I tell them that they ought to try to be gentlemen. As a result of that I am getting a wonderful amount of work done.

You will ask, what work? We have 14,260 tenement houses in the city of Pittsburgh and we have all but about 200 of those houses registered and in excellent sanitary condition. We have no dark rooms or tenement houses. We have abandoned during the last few years 11,000 outside water closets, but we still have 13,960 such closets. I am ashamed of it. But it is a revelation to any man or woman who has not recently been in Pittsburgh to visit that city to-day. Our alleys are clean. We have a great many bad conditions; we are not so good as Buffalo, but we absolutely have made such improvement in conditions in Pittsburgh that the doctors are commencing to move out and complaining that they haven't anything to do.

Mr. SAMUEL P. WITHROW, Superintendent Anti-Tuberculosis League, Cincinnati:

I feel a word of defense should be said for Cincinnati. We have heard from St. Louis and Cleveland and Pittsburgh. I have come here to say one word on this tenement question, as to education. We have been doing some lively work along the lines of tuberculosis in Cincinnati, and are getting some great results. We are expecting to apply the methods to the tenement-house problem. I have a circular in the hands of the printers now, which we are going to circulate through the industrial insurance companies. The circular will be entitled, "*Where Do You Live and How Do You Live?*" We call attention to a chart prepared and used for other purposes, showing that the death rate from tuberculosis is 5.25 per thousand annually in the poorer section, but in the best section it is .58, and we shall show them that if the very worst spots were selected, the difference would probably be about 12 to 1.

In this circular, after telling what are the principal causes of tuberculosis—lack of cleanliness, lack of light and air, lack of plumbing and drainage and lack of proper vault and water-closet conditions—we take each subject separately, and after telling of

the importance of carefulness upon this question, we publish the law on the subject. Our purpose is to let each person living in the tenement-house section, as well as the landlord, know just what the law is, for I believe that if the law is known, and if there is sentiment backing it, we can reasonably ask a city official to enforce it. I do not believe that it is in reason to ask a city official to enforce a law, or to blame a city official for not enforcing a law for which there is no sentiment. I simply want to appeal for more education upon these subjects, and then our city officials cannot help but enforce the laws.

DISCUSSION

HOUSING REFORM THROUGH LEGISLATION

BY PAUL L. FEISS

MR. ROBERT W. DE FOREST presiding

Saturday evening, June 3, at 8:15 o'clock

THE PRESIDENT:

Some time ago I attended a Connecticut conference of charities in New Haven. Mr. Green there stated very briefly the results of his inspection of a New Haven tenement on the morning of that day, saying definitely that it was built contrary to law, so far as plan was concerned, carried out contrary to law, and was being maintained contrary to law. He simply made that bald statement, and to my amazement no one commented on it. It was plain that in New Haven the law was not being obeyed and that there was no inspection of a proper kind in that city. Mr. Green confined himself simply to that bald statement of facts, and I should like to hear a further explanation of them from him.

MR. DAVID I. GREEN, Secretary Charity Organization Society, Hartford, Conn.:

The Connecticut tenement-house law, which was passed six years ago, was one concerning only new construction. That seemed to be the most promising field and one most easily cultivated, and so we started with that. In progressive cities, growing rapidly, as most Connecticut cities are, we thought if we could cut off the bad conditions in new buildings the most of the old buildings would soon go, and as they were replaced by buildings more properly constructed the conditions would improve rapidly. That has proved to be so. I am sure that while Hartford was given a bad name for its tenements six or seven years ago, at the present time in looking over the city one would declare that the housing conditions were good. In the

establishment and formulation of this law we were careful simply to strike out the bad conditions; we were careful not to ask for more than was actually needed, and in fact to give the builder as much liberty as possible, whether he asked for it or not. We were mindful of the need of tenements and of cheap tenements, and we wished to interfere as little as possible with the building of tenement buildings, but only to insure that proper conditions of light, ventilation and sanitary equipment were available.

The law proved to be thoroughly practical. We were able to cut off without much difficulty whatever opposition arose at the time, appealing to the reasonableness of all the requirements, and in actual application it has been very successful. No opposition has been created and there has been no attempt to do away with the law.

Six years' experience has led us to desire a little more restriction in certain directions, and drawing from that experience we have formulated a long series of amendments which are now before the legislature for action. The proposed amendments have been considered by the legislative committee and given a public hearing. More or less was said about them in the papers, but there was not the slightest opposition and we have every reason to believe that they will go through. I recognize that there are other elements in the housing problem which we might take up with reason. We might try, for example, to do away with the building of tenement houses in the smaller towns. We made no attempt in this direction. Tenement buildings are going up somewhat rapidly, and I would put forth the question whether we want to interfere with the building of tenements if they are properly safeguarded as to light, air and sanitary equipment. It seems to me to be unnecessarily increasing the expense of living if we interfere with congregate building and insist upon the small-house development. It is something like the fact that a separate horse and carriage is much better than the street car, if it can be afforded. It seems to me a question which we need to consider carefully, whether we want to do away altogether with coöperative building. We should like to have the building of single houses encouraged, but question the

propriety of depriving the poorer people of the economic advantage of the congregate system.

In the smaller cities more liberty can be afforded than in a city like New York, where the building is so much heavier, and where the six- and seven-story building is the prevalent one. The percentage of open space need not be so large. We have met that situation by having only the same percentage requirements to start with, and by having increased requirements for court and yard spaces, for increased height of the buildings, so that when it comes to the six- and seven-story building we require much more than the New York law requires, and in fact we restrict the height of those buildings to four stories unless they are equipped with elevators.

Unnecessary restriction upon new building causes the retention of old rookeries, and increases the crowding into existing buildings. We want sufficient restrictions to insure wholesome conditions, but we want sufficient liberty to insure adequate housing for our families.

THE PRESIDENT:

Mr. Green, you spoke of the entire satisfaction given by the law in Connecticut. It would not surprise me that there was no objection to any law that is not enforced. How do you explain the situation? You said in regard to New Haven that there was a considerable lack of approval of building plans, and an absolute lack of supervision or of the carrying out of the proper plans. Is it possible that the law is on the statute books without being enforced?

MR. GREEN:

It seems to me very evident that New Haven is at fault in respect to the enforcement of the law. In Hartford they have been more successful, and I think it was largely because at the start we kept in close touch with the building inspector's office, watched the granting of the permits, and inspected new tenement buildings. It seems to me that this is just what has been lacking in New Haven.

THE PRESIDENT:

Which is typical of the Connecticut situation, the Hartford observance, or the New Haven non-observance?

MR. GREEN:

I fear the New Haven situation is somewhat similar to that in Waterbury and Bridgeport, although I have not come into actual contact with the situation in the other cities. The law is easily enforced. There is no question in my mind about that. It is only a matter of neglect if its provisions are not carried out.

I might say a word further; there has been something said this afternoon about the tenement buildings getting into the hands of foreigners largely. We have frequently found that an advantage, as the foreigners are so near the building situation that they keep better conditions in their houses, but they are much more in need of the educational features of the law. Without a law they would build houses that were not at all satisfactory; the law is of extreme importance with this class of owners.

MR. VEILLER:

May I explain the New Haven situation? The reason the law is not enforced in New Haven is that they have a building inspector, but no clerks and no outside men, and the inspector spends nearly all of his time receiving permits and examining them, and has no time to inspect.

MR. ROBERT E. TODD, Housing Investigator for the White Fund, Lawrence, Mass.:

That is true of the other Connecticut cities. The state law provides, as the New York law provides, for the issuance of certificates, but only one city has issued certificates, and that is New Haven. Yet the certificates are issued without provision for proper inspection. How can one man do all the inspection and all the clerical work necessary to certify that a building has been erected in accordance with the law?

The bureau of statistics of the state has issued tenement-house blanks to the three new cities that have come under the

surveillance of the law by the recent census, and as yet there have been received no returns from the three cities, though such returns are provided for in the law.

MR. VEILLER:

We have in the audience several people who have been through very serious legislative campaigns, some successful and some unsuccessful. If they would tell us frankly of the problems they have encountered, I think we might obtain more from this meeting of the conference than from any other. I see Mrs. Bacon, who has watched two extraordinary fights in Indiana, and I am sure we shall be very glad to hear from her.

MRS. ALBION FELLOWS BACON, Secretary Indiana Housing Association, Evansville, Indiana:

Our first campaign was successful in a way, and really I believe it was because the people were not wide awake. We got the right people awake, the people of intelligence and public spirit, and they put the law through; but it dragged so long that finally one of the members, not so high-minded, woke up and found that his tenements were to be assailed. So he put his foot down on all but two cities, and the bill was allowed to pass as applying to those two cities only.

We thought best not to try any legislation this year, but the architects' association prepared a dreadful bill, bad both in form and in intent. As Mr. Veiller said, you could drive a horse and wagon through every section of it. They said it was going to undo all the evils of the previous law, which meant all its benefits. We sent for Mr. Veiller to meet with us, and Mr. Veiller, in a most remarkable meeting, finally got all the architects eating out of his hand. He prepared a bill to which they agreed. But as soon as he left they began to balk and make objections, and they dragged the thing along so late that when the bill was introduced in the lower house our friends said, "It is too late now. You could not possibly get it through, and we will not let it go any further." So our bill would have been stopped in the committee, but we had a meeting with the committee, whose members were friendly to the bill, and we told

them it must go through. The result was, it was reported favorably out of the committee, and the majority leaders put it through the house, under suspension of the rules, in about five minutes. It was carried by a majority of 88 to 2. The papers said it was a monument to our efforts, but on this monument the senate wrote our epitaph. They let it go through to the last hearing, but on the third reading, on the last night of the session, at the last hour, they changed the vote, when we had a majority, and had carried it. One man was intoxicated and broke his word to us, one of our men went to the play, those who did not want to vote went and hid themselves, or ran out of the doors and bolted. In the closing moments of the closing session our enemies got a man to change his vote, and then hid the roll. It had been ours for an hour, but our enemies would not let the lieutenant governor announce it, so we lost it. We were receiving congratulations, and had the bill all ready for engrossment but we lost it. I believe, though, that like Samson we slew more in our defeat and our death than we did in our life, because our defeat brought the cause so much sympathy. I believe that we are going to win yet. The architects pleaded for the law, and they are very anxious for it, because it is not so strenuous as the other one. And next time, we are going to get it for all the cities in Indiana.

MR. CAROL ARONOVICI, Bureau of Social Research, Providence, R. I.:

Ours is another example of defeat. In Rhode Island we started a campaign a few years ago for a housing commission, but we were told that they had so many commissions drawing salaries, after they were appointed without salaries, that they did not want any more, and they told us to wait. This year we thought we would frame a bill and base it on Mr. Veiller's theories, but our plan was discovered too soon. It was thought that our bill was the New York law and consequently that it should not be adopted in Rhode Island, because anything done in New York was never done by the grandmothers of people in Rhode Island. That is a doctrine that is never departed from. Every bill leading toward more healthy legislation was killed

before it got out of committee, except one small affair, which was granted us simply to show that the legislature is not against reform.

MR. OTTO W. DAVIS, Superintendent, Associated Charities, Columbus, Ohio.

We have not met our defeat yet, but it is prophesied. We shall at least have a chance to keep people interested, because our opponents say they are going to repeal the code which we recently passed. I think that such little success as we have gained is due largely to the fact that we secured the coöperation of a group of people whose influence was very great. For instance, after the first draft of the code had been arranged and had been thoroughly gone over by Mr. Veiller, we submitted it to the architects, whose committee went over it carefully and finally approved it.

We did the same thing with the real-estate men and with the Builders' Exchange. After we succeeded in getting the approval of these three bodies we sought out the Federation of Labor and secured their endorsement. Without going into technical details, we secured the endorsement of a large number of church brotherhoods and similar organizations, and then we went up and stood shoulder to shoulder with a few of the ladies. Our councilmen, according to one of them, "got frightened at the skirts" and passed the whole thing. Now the "skirts" are gone and they are talking of attempting to repeal the law, but we think all that will be necessary to do is to make some little amendments that we expected to have to make before the bill would pass.

MR. BALL:

I do not see why Chicago cannot come in for some congratulations over what has happened in our reform legislation. We have just passed an advanced code, December 5th. The history of it is this, that ten years ago the City Homes Association made an exhaustive study of tenement-house conditions in sixty-four blocks, and there resulted from that study a tenement code which was copied in many respects from the New York code, and which was in operation until the passage of the present code.

For two years past there has been a great deal of discussion about a new building ordinance. Our tenement code in 1905 was amalgamated with the building code, which was undesirable, but could not be helped. Very little attention was given to the tenement features in drafting the new code. On the 27th of June last year, there was sent to the council a code which had been labored over for a year and a half, but which was inconsistent in many features and was objectionable in parts. This was referred to a commission of eight for codification rather than for change of substance.

We were able, working in that commission, to make some definite improvements in the tenement part of the law, and that law is now in effect. With respect to the question of state law versus city ordinance, we have a strong conviction growing out of our knowledge of the situation in Chicago, that for that city at all events the city ordinance is far preferable to the state law; that is, it was clearly brought out in our discussion with the interests that opposed advance in the present code, that there was no question of the stability of the existing ordinance. The only question that came up in connection with our new building code was the question, "Shall we make such and such an advance?" There was no question of staying where we were. That is in very marked contrast with the periodic attacks that have been made by certain interests in New York city upon the state law which has been in force here since 1901.

With respect to the general question of state law and city ordinance, there is one interesting fact which I think it may be worth while to note. We have a comprehensive state factory law in Illinois which distinctly provides that a municipality may, if it cares to do so, pass sanitary provisions superior to those of the state law. It seems to me that it would be wise to encourage such legislation everywhere.

DISCUSSION

PRIVY VAULTS

BY CHARLES B. BALL

MR. ROBERT W. DEFOREST presiding

Saturday evening, June 3, at 8:15 o'clock

MR. J. W. MAGRUDER, Secretary Federated Charities, Baltimore, Md.:

I have listened with the deepest interest to this paper of Mr. Ball's, for the reason that he has discussed things which we, in Baltimore, must become familiar with to the last detail, especially during the next three years.

I should like to call the attention of the president to the fact that the chief tenement inspector of Baltimore is here at this conference, having been sent by the health department, and the intention was that he have the advantage of just such discussions as Mr. Ball has started to-night. I suspect that Mr. Veiller invited me to speak for the reason that Baltimore has the distinction—I do not say that it enjoys the distinction—of having 67,000 earth closets. I have the exact figures from the health department here in my hand.

Baltimoreans, as Mr. Veiller knows, would not be willing to have me enter into this discussion in a very conspicuous way if it were not for the fact that our city, after sixty years and over of agitation, has reached the point where it is spending $20,000,000 for the installation of a complete sanitary sewe system. The engineer in charge of it, Mr. President, is a New Yorker, and he has told me that it is the most stupendous enterprise of the kind in the history of the world; that for the first time a city of any great size has created out and out, from the foundations up, a sewer system that reaches every house within its corporate limits. In other words, there will be, by the end of 1914—in fact, they are going to finish the job probably by 1913—1,100 miles of sewer; which covers the point made in

Mr. Ball's paper as regards other cities, and makes Baltimore an exception, in that there will be no house beyond the reach of the sewer.

Now, I have a paper from the assistant health commissioner of Baltimore, whom we hope very much we shall be able to retain under the next administration, showing that the connecting of all the houses with the sewer will begin this coming autumn, for the reason that the disposal plant will then be ready, and that they expect to complete the connections by the end of 1914. I hope that his dream will be realized.

I have a recollection which came to me while sitting here tonight, of the first careful and painstaking investigation I ever made as to sanitary conditions in any American city. I went with Dr. Philip W. Ayers, formerly of New York, through certain quarters of Cincinnati, where they had an elaborate sewer system; the conditions were all favorable, and they had had facilities for proper drainage for I do not know how many years; but I was surprised to find everywhere we went that there were these miserable privy vaults, and apparently they were unable to get the nuisances removed. Then when I went over to Baltimore nearly four years ago I found there what you have already heard about. Some genius there had invented a machine or pump that would do the phenomenal thing of throwing a stream, if necessary, 200 feet, and it was such an effective instrument that it been known to pass a pair of trousers, an army blanket and forty feet of rope. The inventor made a fortune out of it.

They told me that this apparatus was being sold not merely in Baltimore, but in neighboring cities, such as Philadelphia, New York, Chicago and other places; throughout the country where they are supposed to have up-to-date sewer systems; that opened my eyes to some of the things brought out in Mr. Ball's paper, such as the difficulty that is frequently experienced in getting property owners to make the connections.

There are some considerations which would indicate that Baltimore may have its extraordinary house-cleaning done up in very short order. For example, when it came to a vote in the month of June, on the final $10,000,000 with which to complete the sewer system, the people, although they were al-

ready heavily bonded and had been voting enormous sums of money in the last few years, voted overwhelmingly in favor of a final loan, the vote being 44,000 for the loan and only 13,000 against it. The total vote of 57,000 was itself unprecedented, going to indicate the tremendous public sentiment back of the enterprise; and there is an air of expectancy that we are going to clean house and have a model city in respect to these things inside of the next four years.

Another very encouraging fact is this, that prior to the installation of the present great disposal plant, the sewerage commission established an experiment station at Walbrook in northwest Baltimore, to try out the proposed system of disposal of sewerage, the cost of the station being $200,000. The expenditure of that $200,000, I may say incidentally, saved the city an unnecessary expenditure of $100,000,000. The $200,000 experiment plant was incoporated into the permanent sewer system. Three hundred sixty-eight householders were ordered to make sewer connection with this plant. I think it must have been a surprise to everybody that not one of them refused. Four or five of them, I believe it was, pleaded poverty and asked for time, but inside of five months the 368 houses were connected with the disposal plant; this too despite the fact that in almost every instance the houses were not on the building line, but were back in the yards, so that it was necessary to dig a trench from the sewer at the point of connection to the house. These trenches were from twenty to seventy-five feet long, and in that neighborhood there is bed rock, part of which had to be blasted, and it cost these property owners, many of them, as much as seven dollars a lineal foot to dig that trench.

There is a feature in the Baltimore plant that will make it easier for property-owners, and that is that the last $10,000,000, as voted, is to be used for running laterals from the trunk sewers in streets or alleys to the building lines,—a provision which I think is unique. Therefore, when the notices are issued by the health department, the property owners whose buildings are on the building line will have nothing to do but to connect with the laterals which are brought right up to that line. Of course this is a great advantage.

The question remains as to what will be the attitude of poor people who are owners of property, and of people who are living in the alleys that belong to Baltimore's city plan. The health department is of the opinion that while it may take patience and perseverance and persistence, yet there will be no very serious difficulty in bringing about the connection of their houses as well as of the houses of the rich. If so, we shall have the satisfaction of knowing that our city, which is, comparatively speaking, a city of homes and not of tenements, is getting a complete sanitary sewer system and therefore is establishing a basic element in the building of the city that is to be.

MR. ALBERT L. WEBSTER, Sanitary Engineer, New York:

Where people are massed one thousand or more to an acre, the subject of sewerage disposal becomes a vital and crying problem that demands the intelligent and earnest attention of every thoughtful person in the community. You cannot have plague spots in the Tenth Ward and not have Fifth Avenue directly or circuitously affected.

The vault in the back yard of the tenement property is an evolution. It was introduced before there were public sewers, and when the cess-pool and midden were the accepted methods of sewerage disposal. These vaults were emptied at night and the contents carted through the streets. When sewers were introduced, the easy and palpable thing was to connect an overflow pipe with the vault and extend it to the sewer, thereby reducing the frequency of call on the expensive night cart.

Then came the ingenious inventor of the school sink. This was considered a reform, and was permitted by the board of health of those days as an improvement on its predecessor, and it was an improvement. In construction it was, and is, an underground masonry vault, 10 or 12 feet long, about 3 feet wide and 2 or 3 feet deep, with an iron trough at the bottom, sloping to an outlet pipe at one end, provided with a screen and an iron overflow stopper having a ring in the top, by which it could be lifted out. The liquid contents of the trough could overflow to the drain, but solid contents were retained. At the end of the trough opposite the outlet a valved water pipe was introduced,

having a flushing capacity about equal to one small basin faucet. Over the vault was built a row of wooden seats, either singly or back to back, with flimsy wooden partitions, roof shelter and doors dividing the structure into separate compartments, and offering what may be termed extreme public privacy.

One of these structures served one tenement house, frequently containing from 100 to 150 tenants. The rule required at least one compartment for 15 tenants. These sanitary cabinets were located in the contracted back yard, usually at the bottom of a well formed by surrounding buildings from 5 to 7 stories high. They were accessible to anyone from the street through the public hall of the tenement. They were without light at night and without heat in winter. There were no means to permit, and there was no intention to allow, individual users of these vaults to flush them. That was a duty and pleasure reserved for the janitress or care-taker of the building. In order to economize in the use of water, the vault was scheduled to be flushed once or twice a week, by lifting out the plug and turning on the little stream of water. A rake was usually employed to stimulate the sluggish flow of the contents and remove obstructing objects from the screen. This operation on a hot summer's day, after the vault had been long neglected, was a disgusting one.

The proximity of these vaults to the back windows of the buildings, and to rooms where the family meals were prepared, offered a quick line of communication for flies, insects and vermin. It was the best rapid-transit service New York has yet known, and left nothing necessary for completion but the undertaker and death certificate.

This was the condition that existed in six or seven thousand instances in Greater New York when the Tenement House Commission of 1900 was appointed by the state legislature, with Mr. de Forest at the head and Mr. Veiller at his right hand. As one of the sanitary experts asked to serve by that commission, it was my task to examine and report on the sanitary condition of tenement houses in the matter of drainage, water supply and plumbing.

The method adopted of collecting and recording facts and

conditions is contained in the report of the commission. The examination disclosed the conditions already described. They were not unknown or unexpected. The reports of every previous tenement-house commission had referred in unmistakable terms to the back-yard school sink and privy vault as filthy and degrading objects. They had called attention to the fact that it was unspeakable that young girls, children and women should have to visit by day and not infrequently by night these exposed and semi-public places. They had commented on the effect such usage must have on the delicacy, sensibility and morals of young girls and children. They had called attention successfully to the necessity of stopping further introduction of these back-yard toilets, and the introduction had been stopped many years before 1900; but they had not sufficiently emphasized the number in which they still existed in the city nor had they advocated their removal.

My examination of a good many of these places, from one end of the city to the other, convinced me that New York needed a surgical operation, and that 6,000 cancers were cancers still, in spite of the fact that they were surrounded by the protecting charm and glamour of antiquity, vested rights and property interests.

The recommendation was made that the new law require the absolute removal, root and branch, of the back-yard apology as it then existed, and that suitable and sanitary toilet accommodations within the buildings be required. If this were impracticable in all instances, an option was suggested to permit the substitution of well-lighted, warmed and non-absorbent toilet buildings in the back-yards. The commission adopted these views on the subject and they were incorporated in the tenement-house act,' creating the tenement-house department, and giving a time limit for the removal of the nuisances.

Property owners having back-yard toilets promptly opposed the reform, claiming interference with vested rights, confiscation of appliances installed under previous approval of public officials, interference with property interests and hardship to innocent parties. Test suits brought in the lower courts and carried to the supreme courts of the state and nation resulted in sustaining the validity of the law.

The tenement-house department began a systematic campaign for the abolition of the back-yard vault; Mr. Ball came on from Washington and took charge of the department devoted to improving the sanitary condition of old tenements, until he was called to new fields of larger activity in Chicago. I know of no one better able to deal with the problem than he.

In conclusion, let me say to those of you who in official or other active capacity are confronted with the same problem in other cities, that you cannot be too firm or strenuous in opposing the introduction or continuance of the outdoor privy. In treating the matter publicly, let me call your attention to the words of a distinguished and patriotic American, at a time of conflict over a great question of principle involving property rights, vested interests and rooted custom. He said: "I will be as harsh as truth and uncompromising as justice. On this subject I do not wish to speak or write with moderation. I will not equivocate; I will not excuse; I will not retract a single inch and I will be heard."

MR. WILLIAM R. BELKNAP, Louisville, Ky.:

Louisville is not quite half so large as Baltimore, and we have just spent $4,000,000 under special appropriation for the construction of sewers to supplement our old sewer system. Most of the houses, in the interior of the town at least, can be connected with sewers, so that those who desire can have the waste carried off in that way. But the trouble is that we have a large poor population to deal with. Out of the total, which may be estimated at 240,000, one-fifth are negroes. These have to be provided for and housed as other people are, and we have to give them the same protection against disease which other people enjoy. There is this distinction, that colored people are expected to use privies in the back yard, while the whites use toilets in houses, and that distinction is likely to be maintained. Now, we wish we had all of our houses with water connection; as it is, a great many houses of the poor, and particularly of the negroes, have no water connection at all for drinking, washing or flushing. So what is the use of talking about a water-closet when you have no water to flush it with?

Granted that the privies in the back yards are unsightly and unsanitary—what is the first step that we can take to render them more sanitary? That is the question which concerns us in Louisville. We want to know whether there is a certain depth to which they may be excavated with least probability of contaminating the adjacent soil, and whether there are methods of cleansing more desirable than others. Those practical questions are the ones I should like to hear discussed. We cannot put water closets in all these small, cheaply-built houses of the poor. It would unquestionably be a great thing for the plumber, and we have him with us in his organization, which makes it expensive to establish such a connection. But if we have no connection for wash-stands, it is hardly to be expected that we should begin with water closets. Many of the tenants would not know how to use them so as to keep them clean.

It is an important subject which we should like to take up for the benefit of our poorer population. We wish we had all of these noisome and noxious privies removed, but how can this be brought about as long as we have a large population which can only pay $8 and $9 a month rent for a cottage?

MRS. GEORGE H. GRAY, Louisville, Ky.:

The new tenement-house law in Louisville provides for water supply as well as the water-closet supply in tenements, but, of course, that does not touch the small cottage, and as Louisville has a great many of those we come right back to the discussion that we were having this afternoon, as to whether you are going to leave out all these small family houses, and the one and two-family houses, because our tenement-house law takes in only three-family houses.

THE PRESIDENT:

It is gratifying to have so many persons from so many parts of the country take part in the discussion. It illustrates what we have begun to feel here, the national character of this movement.

MR. VEILLER:

It seems to me that we touched to-night upon the biggest problem that we have to face in our campaign for reform. Mr. Ball has given you some idea of the tremendous scope of this evil. It is the most serious evil to the health and welfare of the community and at the same time one of the most difficult evils to overcome, because you have to attack vested interests, and you make people spend large sums of money. I agree with what Mr. Ball says. I believe we are not civilized until we wipe out every one of these evils in our cities. But there is a great message of hope in this, and one that you can give to the whole United States—you are absolutely sure of your position legally. New York has tested that out for the whole country and for all time in a case which went to the United States Supreme Court. There you have a decision which makes your position impregnable. You must find out how many privies you have in your community and compel their removal within a reasonable time, and the substitution of water closets established inside the building.

I could not help thinking, when Mr. Magruder told us that they would have connections about 1914, what was meant by connections made. I fear it meant that existing privy vaults were going to be sewer connected. The school sink is very little better than the privy vault; you will always have a transmission of disease, no matter whether connected or not, you will have all the disadvantages of making people go down three or four flights of stairs in all kinds of weather, day and night; you will have all the evils of the privy vault, except soil contamination. Therefore the only thing to do is, as Mr. Webster says, to remove your cancers, perform a surgical operation.

Nothing else is so important, and if the National Housing Association did nothing else in the next five years except to campaign against the privy vault throughout the whole United States, I for one should feel that it was justifying its existence.

MR. VIRGIL G. MARANI, Building Inspector, Cleveland:

It was my good fortune, as a practising engineer in Canada, to put in sewer systems throughout the smaller cities of Ontario,

and one was in the city of Bradford, a place of 18,000 or 19,000 inhabitants. We found that the aldermen there would not stand for drastic measures but rather preferred gradual elimination; that is, when a house required repair, or had to be remodeled, this was the time when the city insisted upon the correction of the privy evil, and pending such correction, which took time, certain fixed rules were adopted following the custom of the Germans, who have made a great success in the handling of dry earth closets. I have seen dry earth closets, both in this country and Canada, but have never seen a typically constructed or operated dry earth closet as they have them in Germany. There they always insist upon a certain quantity and quality of dry earth. It is absolutely essential that a proper quantity and the proper kind of earth shall be used in these closets, and when this is properly carried out they are practically inoffensive. They collect the excrement from these houses and putting it into a rotary converter, add a small percentage of sawdust, put it through a compressor and convert it into briquettes, which they sell as material for lighting fires. These briquettes look like little blocks of peat, and they are of slow combustion when used in a proper way. We are behind the times in these things, as we are in the method of burying our dead, which is a matter of sentiment entirely; cremation is the proper thing. Living in congested conditions, we are utilizing valuable land for the disposal of our dead.

In regard to laws, it is one thing to write a law and another to enforce it, and that is the great mistake that is made in writing a tenement-house or any other code; for the man who writes it, never having to enforce it, assumes that after it has become a law it is a comparatively easy thing to let building inspectors enforce it. In Cleveland I have 1,184 laws in the building code, and I am not able to enforce more than half of them; the others might as well never have been written. If these legislators, these senators or members of the house of representatives where these laws are initiated, would just back their laws a little more strongly, and also strengthen them with a law forcing the aldermanic or councilmanic bodies of the cities to provide the board of health and the building inspectors

of each city with a proper number of men to enforce those laws, it would be an entirely different thing, but they stop at the very point where they ought to go on. I think there are about 1,986 building operations going on in Cleveland now, and there are seventeen inspectors covering forty-seven miles of territory. It makes a farce out of the whole situation; it is ridiculous. What you do is only a sham; you feel that you are not doing your duty because you cannot enforce those laws. Yet nothing is said so long as everything is going along all right; but let a man lose a contract by a few dollars so that he doesn't feel very much pleased over it, and he makes up his mind that he is going to watch that building. Sooner or later the opportunity comes, and he goes down to the building department and says: "Why don't you enforce the building laws? That building being constructed does not conform to the laws." When an investigation is made, he says that there is a joist that sticks out four inches where it ought not to, or it does not stick out four inches where it ought to, and by actual measurement it sticks out three inches and three-quarters. So we have conditions arising that cause continuous perplexity to the building inspector and his officers, assistants and officials, conditions that make them feel disheartened and disgusted. Let this commission urge the making of a few sensible laws which can be enforced, and let it also back up those laws with further regulation that shall compel the cities to lay aside politics and help their health department and inspection department by giving them a proper staff to enforce properly what they have to enforce.

MR. MAGRUDER:

I wish to say that in Baltimore the law requires thirty days' notice to be given to each property owner, not only to make the connections that I have described, but also to clean the privy vaults and to fill them up with pure soil.

DISCUSSION

CITY PLANNING AND HOUSING

BY FREDERICK LAW OLMSTED

MR. ROBERT W. DE FOREST presiding

Monday afternoon, June 5, at 3 o'clock

MR. ANDREW WRIGHT CRAWFORD, Assistant City Solicitor, Philadelphia:

I am glad that Mr. Olmsted stated that city planning does not offer a panacea for housing or any other of the evils with which we contend. We may have the worst housing conditions with the best system of streets. We may have an admirably laid-out city, and yet living conditions in individual rooms may be as bad as in the worst-planned city. Therefore city planning, in the sense of laying out or mapping city streets, does not have an absolutely final bearing upon housing conditions though it does affect them vitally in the long run.

I want to dissent from one thought which, as I understood Mr. Olmsted's paper, was expressed in his admirable discussion of the subject. He said that in every city a particular type will be evolved and that that type must be regarded as the type for which that city was intended, just as when you plan a manufactory you get a building of one type and when you plan a home you get a building of another type. It makes no difference whether you live in New York, with its curious situation in regard to housing, one that should not be followed in its solution anywhere, or in Philadelphia or San Franciso. What is the whole object of housing? A healthy condition of the people, that is true; but more than that, it is to make each individual man a citizen who is worth while. The thing that tends to make every man in the United States a worthy, self-respecting, and stable citizen is the fact that he owns the house in which he lives. Any system of housing that fails to bring within the reach of the ordinary working man the possibility of owning

his own home fails in giving him the main incentive to become the kind of a citizen he ought to be. Therefore the type of home which has been envolved in any city which is impossible for any working man to own is to be destroyed as soon as possible. It is not to be copied even though it be a model tenement.

Here in New York you are offering us in Philadelphia an unfortunate precedent. You know, with one or two exceptions, we have not anything as bad as your "model" tenements. We are better in every respect, I think, because we are better in the main respect. In Philadelphia we have rows upon rows of two-story houses. Most of the residence buildings in the city are two-story houses, which might be improved very much in construction, but if we do improve them much the cost will go up, and very likely the man who gets $1.75 a day will not be able to buy the house even with the help of the building and loan association, which we have developed to a great extent. Jacob Riis, great man as he is, told our philanthropists about your model tenements, and one man in Philadelphia put up one because he thought he would show how it ought to be done; that is one of the worst tenements in Philadelphia.

Our slum condition was bad, in consequence of the erection of houses fifty or seventy-five years ago for the well-to-do—admirable houses for that time; but fashion left that part of the city and moved westward, and the houses had to be developed into two, three and four-family houses, and so we got the back tenement, with the resulting need of cutting through small streets to open up the backs of these deep lots so that we may get new fronts upon the new streets. We have a housing problem in Philadelphia totally unlike that in New York. I feel I ought to emphasize the fact that if any one thinks the New York solution of the housing problem should be applied generally throughout the country, he is wrong. A law that suits New York city with its surroundings does not suit any other section of the country, because in other sections you have not water surrounding you on three sides.

A parliamentary committee reported in London that the principal difficulty in the housing problem was how to get the

workman from his place of residence to his place of work: first, at frequent intervals; second, in quick time; and third, at cheap rates. That is the problem that comes home to every one of us. We in Philadelphia are approaching the time when the two-story, one-family houses must give way to two-story, two-family flats, unless we get better means of transportation. The reason is that the ground has become valuable, and you cannot get enough rent from a two-story house, and therefore you must get two families to pay the rent. A similar problem will be found in every city, except one located as New York is; that is, to secure transportation facilities in all directions so that the price will be so low that you can put up single-family two-story houses. That is the problem of transportation in city planning and that is why city planning vitally affects housing. We must get enough means of transportation in all directions so that workingmen can get from all outlying sections of the city, because that is where the city is growing, to their places of work, within a reasonable time.

MR. FLAVEL SHURTLEFF, Secretary, National City Planning Conference, Boston:

The things that struck me with most force in Mr. Olmsted's remarks were two. The city planner has two distinct duties in creating a street system or in creating a plan of any kind on which there are to be houses for various classes of dwellings, or buildings for various classes of work. The planner must see to it that his plan will be calculated to oppose such changes as are unnecessary or are merely ephemeral. Now, for illustration, you are all acquainted with city blocks, block units, that are made up of ill-assorted dwellings. In a given block, suited for residence, there may be a few houses, wretched, perhaps, but with adequate open space, and on this open space a factory or warehouse is erected, effectually shutting out the air and sunlight. Such an occurrence is unnecessary, and any plan that is suggested that will make more fixed the character of the block unit and eliminate ephemeral changes will be welcome.

The city planner must first prepare a plan that will oppose ephemeral or unnecessary changes, but he must also provide for

a change which is desirable; in other words, his plan must be flexible as well as determinate.

I think that Mr. Olmsted's suggestion provided for two of the most necessary things in housing. It will prevent ephemeral changes in block units that are undesirable, and it will bring about, with a suddenness that is desirable, a complete change when that change is necessary.

MR. James H. TUFTS, Chairman, Housing Conditions Committee, City Club, Chicago.

Having been brought up in the country, I naturally look with abhorrence on the high-storied tenement, as a place for children to grow up in. But we are always told, if we seek small dwellings to be owned by tenants, that it is frequently a great disadvantage for a workman to own his own house, as he cannot move about with the shifting demands for labor. I want to ask Mr. Crawford how that works out in Philadelphia, if the workingmen are caught by owning their own houses, so that they cannot move when they want to.

MR. CRAWFORD:

To answer the question, I have never known any objections on that score. The demand for houses is so great that a workingman can very readily rent his house. Whether he can sell it or not I do not know, but in one quarter, the rent is about the same as in another quarter, so that he is not likely to lose.

MR. ROBERT BROWN, Winthrop, Mass.:

This question of housing in general appeals to me strongly from three different points of view, the ethical, the economic and the artistic. I was rather surprised, when Mr. Veiller announced the variety of types of persons who attended this conference, to find that there were no clergymen among the number.

Now, of course you know that the question of ethics is intimately associated with moral regimen, and back of the whole subject. As we collectively attain a higher plane we shall gradually wipe out all of these evils and the attendant difficulties.

To come to this question of city planning as related to housing, I am not aware that there is a prospect of any individual having the planning of a whole city as big as New York, but at the present moment there are a great number of cities in the Canadian Northwest, among which I might name Prince Rupert, which are now being planned. The advantage which these people now have is that they avoid the mistakes which in the past have been connected with the haphazard development of cities. While it may not be the part of anyone to plan a big city, I contend that we may have opportunities of building important suburban districts: not only that, but also industrial villages. This is one way through which, in course of time, at least, we may get clear of many of the evils which exist in our city tenements.

As a member of the Garden City Planning Association of England, I am somewhat familiar with what has been done there. I also know that for the past half century many of the municipalities in Europe and in Great Britain have been engaged in the work of clearing out the congested districts, tearing down and building improved dwellings for the people who have been dispossessed. Now, if I understand rightly, the best thought in England to-day is this, that while the tearing down by municipalities of these old buildings, forming new streets, letting in more light and air, and open spaces, has mitigated the evil, it has not done away with it entirely, and this work has been done at great expense to the ratepayers.

The city of Glasgow, with which I have been intimately connected, has been engaged in this work for many years. It has built model lodging houses which are sustained by the municipality, and it has in many different ways done philanthropic work. I dare say that you are also aware of what has been done by the various captains of industry in England in building industrial villages at Bourneville, Port Sunlight and elsewhere.

MR. DAVIS:

I should like to ask a question which perhaps Mr. Olmsted or some one else will answer. I have heard a good deal, in the discussion of city planning, about providing for transportation.

To what do the people wish to be transported? Is it not largely to their work, and is there not any hope of getting their work somewhere near where they are going to live? I have also heard something about getting them where they will not be bothered by smoke. Is it the duty of the housing reformer to try to abate the smoke nuisance?

MR. OLMSTED:

If the questions are addressed to me, I am afraid I cannot answer them. They are pretty big questions.

Personally, I think that the idea of districting the city and restricting the factories to the leeward side of the city, the houses being placed to windward so as to avoid smoke, has been rather worked to death in talk. It has been attempted in certain German cities, and because it is an easy point to see, it is described over and over again, as if it were a cardinal feature of city planning and were the last word about smoke. Dealing with the smoke nuisance goes a good deal deeper than trying to run away from it.

That question in regard to transportation of course leads into the enormously complex question of the organization of the transportation situation, and if I were prepared to deliver an essay upon it, which I am not, it would be impossible to get through it to-day. I do think that one element in the solution of the problem of transportation, which you must constantly bear in mind in connection with the difficulties of transportation, is that of housing people near their work, instead of hauling them a great many miles back and forth over intervening ground with which they have no concern whatever.

Connected with this is the principle that lies at the bottom of the garden-city movement in England, a principle which is not generally appreciated. People have heard about the garden-city movement, but to most people the chief idea connected with the phrase is that of attractive streets and houses, an esthetic ideal. The basic idea of the garden-city movement is economic and social, a matter of land tenure. It is the establishment of industrial communities which can be artificially kept small enough for the dwellings to be conveniently near both to fac-

tories and to the surrounding agricultural district. These communities are protected against the evils of excessive and concentrated growth through the ownership of all the land by a single corporation which is intended to represent the interest of all the people of the community. Growth beyond the limit of area and of density fixed by considerations of convenience and health is expected to take place through the establishment of new centers of growth separated from the first by an agricultural belt.

MR. GEO. B. FORD, Lecturer on City Planning, New York City:

There are several points in connection with this talk of Mr. Olmsted's that might be enlarged upon. All habitations may be divided into two classes, the isolated single-family house and the house in continuous rows, whatever the number of stories. The problems presented by these two types are often quite different.

Of the former the garden cities and garden suburbs of England, which have been alluded to, are by far the most interesting and satisfactory examples.

When we come to the rows our problem is not so easy, and the higher the building the more difficult it becomes. How can we make the city tenement as healthful and livable as possible, within a rent that the tenant can afford to pay? First and foremost we must have sunlight and a good circulation of air.

In New York there are 28,000 new cases of tuberculosis every year; 10,000 of these die. Fresh air and a very few hours of sunlight kill the strongest germs of tuberculosis. The same is true of many other diseases. The annual loss to the community from these preventable causes, not only in money but in efficiency and the enjoyments of life, is enormous.

Add to this the great waste due to pauperism and crime, both of which are in large measure engendered by bad environment, and we may well be appalled by the consequences of our rank neglect.

M. A. A. Rey, of Paris, has demonstrated a method of having air constantly circulating through every apartment and of bringing sunlight into every room for at least an hour a day, even on the shortest day of the year. Furthermore, this can be

done with five and six-story tenements covering nearly 70 per cent of the lot.

This result is secured by the simple expedient of running the rows of tenements two rooms deep in a northerly and southerly direction. The open spaces between the tenement rows would be alternately narrow streets and recreation spaces. Widely diagonal streets and east and west streets would intersect these blocks as required by traffic or commerce. By this arrangement we could bring the maximum of sunlight and fresh air into every living and sleeping room.

Here we have a way of planning our wage-earners' districts for their great good. Only by taking advantage of it now can we avoid in the future the dreadful mistakes of the past.

MR. FRANK TUCKER, Chairman, Board of City Development, New Rochelle, N. Y.:

I come from the city of parks, and likewise of tenement districts. The most interesting part of Mr. Olmsted's paper to me was the concluding paragraph, where he asks the question: "How are we to further the progress of intelligent city planning?" and he answers it by saying we must do certain things in regard to certain municipal officers or appropriating authorities and those who have charge of the functions which relate to city planning. That, I think, is eminently practical, though his answer was a little bit general. I have had something to do with the development of a community which has grown within a few years from an old-fashioned village to a modern city, developing in it all the conditions of housing that distinguish the modern city. There is not, in my experience, a single meeting of the common council or the board of aldermen of any growing American city at which they do not take some action or pass some resolution that affects the city planning of that particular community. Intelligent progress in the development of city planning in this country, it seems to me, depends on education.

There are three officers in most American cities who ought to be men of an entirely different type from what they are, and until we get men who have been technically trained we shall

not have progressive city planning. These three officers are the health officer, the superintendent of buildings and the city engineer. I have a practical suggestion to make. We need a new type of man for those positions. We also need to educate those who are elected as councilmen and members of the board of aldermen, comptrollers and mayors. My practical suggestion is that the National Housing Association enlarge its scope and become also an association of city planning and city development, that it carry on educational propaganda, that it teach city officers who have to do with city planning, and that in addition to that it exert its influence upon those who have charge of the technical courses in great educational institutions, to the end that we may have a new type of professional man, the professional man of new ideals, to fill the position of city engineer, health officer and superintendent of buildings.

MR. W. TEMPLETON JOHNSON:

I wish to accent further the remarks of Mr. Crawford, of Philadelphia, on the subject of home owners. I think we are all agreed, if we are ever going to get anywhere, that the home must be the unit. We have done something in America towards getting it, but I think we have to look toward Germany if we are going to realize what really is being done at this time.

I want to speak of a small city in the southern part of Germany, the city of Ulm. There, with a mayor originally elected for twelve years and since chosen to serve all the rest of his life, they have worked out a house-owning and home-owning policy by which the people buy homes from the city, paying for them within twenty-three years. It has been the experience of the city that the people who have those homes are the sort of citizens really wanted and the sort of citizens who, instead of losing their homes in times of depression, have saved enough so that when hard times come they can be tided over. I do not mean to say that here in America we are quite ready for any municipal housing schemes. I understand from Mr. Veiller that there is not a single municipal housing scheme now in operation in the United States, but I think a great deal may be done in this direction through coöperative societies.

MR. PAUL L. FEISS:

I wanted to bring out one point which illustrates a theory. It relates to the Johnson three-cent fare agitation in Cleveland. The housing committee considered seriously the much-discussed zone system, and it was the consensus of opinion of this committee that the zone system would be bad for the housing development of the city. I believe a zone system which materially reduced the fare as the distance increased would be desirable, but unfortunately the corporations of our country are not in favor of this scheme, so that we have not been able to carry it out. But the largest number of people moving into the suburbs are the people who can least afford to pay a high rate of fare. What can we do to get them near their work at least cost? The only other thing to do is to bring the work to them. The objection from the city planner's point of view is that the factory is assumed to be an undesirable thing in a residence locality. That may have been true of the factory of the past, but why need it to be true of the factory of the future?

There are certain kinds of factories, such as steel furnaces and slaughter houses, and some particular plants relating to industries which are themselves obnoxious, which would, of course, be undesirable in residence districts, but there are many industries using plants where a great amount of property is involved, or where the nature of the industry is such that it can be made a part of the beautification scheme.

That kind of plant can be made as attractive as any residence in the most desirable part of the city, and I believe that is the thing that will help to solve the problem of bringing the large majority of the workers to their work. The gentleman from St. Louis has spoken of this already, the bringing of the factory into the boulevard. Why cannot this stove company be made an attractive part of that boulevard scheme, and why cannot any factory be made a part of any neighborhood scheme? I know it is being done in some cities.

MR. VEILLER:

It is too late to discuss Mr. Olmsted's paper, but I want a minute to set myself right on one or two points. He spoke of my complacency in regard to tenements in New York. I do

not know how he got any such impression as that, but as he has it I wish to make a full statement of my creed here. I think the New York tenements are vile, and I do not think they should be developed in any other American city.

As to the second point, that the tenement-house law would interfere with the running of streets running north and south. I do not see how it would interfere with the running of streets north and south if the municipality wants to do it.

The third point is in regard to Mr. Tucker's suggestion that the National Housing Association enlarge its scope to take up a vigorous campaign for city-planning work. I should say, so far as we have any recommendation to make, it would be highly desirable were it not for the fact that there already exists and has existed for three years a National City Planning Conference whose business it is to work along those lines, and we do not think it polite or wise to try to capture their job.

MR. OLMSTED:

Our English friends who had that impression as to Mr. Veiller's complacent acceptance of the tenement house seemed for themselves to hold that the only justifiable way to house the mass of the population is in cottages. They may have given the impression of a narrower outlook than they really have, and they may have got a false impression from Mr. Veiller, as I think others have, that he looks upon cottage housing as impracticable in a great many situations where something better than tenements can reasonably be expected.

I will correct another impression that Mr. Crawford got, although Mr. Shurtleff perhaps has corrected it already. I did not mean to suggest that each city has its own particular type of housing, but that in every city particular conditions prevail, which make a type of housing desirable in one locality which is not desirable in another part of the city. I desire to emphasize my principal point, which is that under various conditions in different places and at different times radically different kinds of housing are desirable, radically different types of housing meet the conditions, and therefore the arrangement of the street system should be such as to permit the adoption of all these widely varying types wherever each is needed.

DISCUSSION

ALLEYS

BY MRS ALBION FELLOWS BACON

DR. EDWARD T. DEVINE presiding

Monday afternoon, June 5, at three o'clock

MR. EDWARD T. DEVINE:

In taking the chair I would like to defend my friend, Mr. Riis, from the charge of being responsible for any tenement houses in Philadelphia, and to say that if any architect built a tenement as the result of what he heard Mr. Riis say on the subject, it must be that he heard Mr. Riis talk in his sleep or that he had an inverted ear trumpet. I once asked him to address a gathering in Philadelphia on the subject of model tenements, and his reply was one that burned the mail sacks all the way from New York to Philadelphia.

MR. FRANK ALDRICH, Superintendent of Street Cleaning and Garbage Collection, Detroit:

This is a very interesting subject to me, as I come from a city that has more miles of alleys than any other city in the world. I think we have the reputation of having the cleanest streets of any city. We have a limitless quantity of water and we flush our streets. But the alley problem has worried us a great deal.

For the last five years every annual report of the department of public works has called the attention of the people to the fact that it is an impossibility for the department to keep the alleys clean without the coöperation of the people. We have on our roll about 250 men and 150 teams for the purpose of cleaning the alleys, but 460,000 people can throw out more dirt than that number of men and teams can possibly remove.

I am glad that during the last month there has been an agitation started in Detroit that is arousing the people to the necessity of doing something. We have received a great deal of criticism because our alleys are dirty, and I was glad of this

revolution that has been started to arouse the people; it will teach them that it is necessary for them to take part in keeping the alleys clean.

Three years ago we had an ordinance covering the whole alley-cleaning problem, which required the people to remove all the ashes and waste at their own expense. The men who formerly did that work charged such exorbitant prices to the cottager for removing a few bushels of ashes or waste that it was an impossibility for him to pay it, and that ordinance became practically obsolete. Finally, the department of public works commenced the removal of ashes from behind the cottages alone and later extended it to all residences, but there was no regular system and we felt that we needed an ordinance that would direct the work in a systematic way. The new ordinance was passed by the common council, which said: "If you want your ashes taken away free of expense the department of public works will take them, provided that you put them in a receptacle and place the receptacle in a convenient place where it can be handled." Unfortunately the people had been so used to throwing rubbish into the alleys that they thought we were infringing upon their rights and the ordinance could not be enforced, though the police brought a great many persons into court for violating it.

About a year and a half ago the department of public works asked the council to amend the ordinance so that the people could place their ashes and waste in the alleys in every month except January and February. People kept their ashes in the cellar all winter, and this spring, as soon as the warm weather came, thousands deposited all their ashes and refuse in one week in the alleys and thus caused a bad condition and much complaint. Our board of commerce took hold of the matter and advised the citizens that in order to have clean alleys they must use judgment in what they deposited in the alleys. The board of health helped agitate the question of coöperation with the department of public works and tried to arouse the pride of citizens in keeping the alleys in proper condition back of their premises. Because this large accumulation of ashes was thrown into the alleys in so short a period of time we have been obliged

to haul away during the last three weeks more than 1500 cubic yards of dirt and ashes per day.

MR. JORDAN:

We, in Boston, are troubled with this alley question. We have a great number of alleys in Boston and we find the same trouble about people throwing out ashes and papers and rubbish into those back alleys. In 1894 a law was passed giving the board of health the right to call upon the abutters to have the alleys paved and drained. That worked all right until about three years ago, and we had some of those alleys paved and drained. At that time we asked to have an alley off State street paved, which affected some of the wealthiest men in the city of Boston, and they immediately carried the question to the supreme court of Massachusetts, which decided that the law was unconstitutional. Since that time we have had to stop work.

We find trouble in cleaning alleys in this way; under our law in Boston the owners are obliged to have the alleys cleaned. There are very few of the owners that live in the houses that abut on those alleys; nearly all live out of town. They formerly lived in these houses which now have been turned into lodging houses and tenements, the owners living out of town. In a great many instances they live out of the country, so you see how difficult it is to reach them. There is no other way to clean up except by calling upon the owners to do it.

For a number of years, I think for the last fifteen years, there has been no annual report of the board of health which has not called upon the "city fathers" to pass some sort of ordinance or law whereby the city can go in and clean those alleys, and make it a lien on the property. We never have been able to have that law passed. I think every year for the last ten years we have gone to the legislature of Massachusetts, either directly or indirectly, through some of the civic associations, to have a law passed in regard to taking care of those alleys, but up to date there has been no law passed whereby anything can be done.

MR. MAGRUDER:

Baltimore has been given a rather unenviable reputation at almost every session of this conference. I want to say that in that city there has been a development indicative of splendid possibilities, for which the alley itself furnishes an opportunity. We have miles and miles of rows of houses right on the building line, with no front yards, and with correspondingly big back yards, forty or fifty or sixty or seventy feet deep, with an alley. These yards are twelve or sixteen or sometimes twenty feet wide, and each yard is fenced about with a high board fence, so that we have acres and acres of ground fenced in in this long, narrow way. A westerner who came from a pork-packing city to Baltimore not long since looking out over the expanse of back yards said: "Dear me, this looks like the stock yards."

In certain neighborhoods, however, the property owners have seen an opportunity and have voluntarily entered into an agreement among themselves that they will tear down the partition fences, leaving only the outside fences at the end of the block and the fences along the alley, separating their several lots by vine-covered chicken-wire fences stretched along the posts that are left standing. That has been so vast an improvement in beauty and comfort that they have begun to tear down these partition fence lines, leaving a large open yard for the whole block, and that has been so satisfactory that they are beginning to tear down all the fences, leaving no line of division except as the paved alley might be taken as a line of separation. That in turn brings to the front the alley itself as Mrs. Bacon has described, and as nobody is satisfied with the appearance of the revolting thing, it looks as if the city might gradually develop out of this a splendid system of yards, no longer back yards but front yards. There is one back yard in Baltimore that you cannot tell from a front yard, because people live out there, and it is as green as any beautiful lawn, with flower beds and bushes of the right kind, and with trees here and there. In fact it is a delightfully green spot where the neighborhood people assemble. This is taken as a prophecy of things to be in a city cursed with an alley system, the alley itself furnishing an opportunity of doing that which would be otherwise impossible.

MR. OLMSTED:

It seems to me that the point upon which most of the difficulties turn is the presence of *private* alleys. The difficulties in Boston are mainly with the private alleys rather than with those which are public alleys and are maintained by the city like the other streets. And this brings me back to a point I made in my own paper early in the afternoon. The alley is likely to become an intermediate street with houses fronting upon it, to meet changing conditions in any given district. It ought to be completely under public control just the same as the main streets, and sufficient space ought to be set apart and put under public control in the beginning in the middle of the block to provide for the reasonable cotingencies of the future. Whether or not the alley is needed at the start for the kind of development there proposed, sufficient room should be reserved to permit the introduction of alleys when the conditions arise for which a public alley is desirable, and to permit the conversion of that alley into an intermediate street for the frontage of an additional row of buildings when that change becomes desirable, when it is no longer economical, possible or desirable to maintain large areas of open back lots. Where conditions are like those described at a certain place in Baltimore, where the middle of the block can be used in common for large garden plots, and the people can afford it, it is eminently desirable. But these conditions must be temporary or exceptional, for in many parts of Baltimore land is so expensive that only the very rich can afford to hold these big back yards vacant, and economic pressure has forced the erection of houses facing on the alleys.

My main point is that there ought to be complete control by the public of some space through the middle of the ordinary block which can be left in private use temporarily, but can be taken over by the city whenever the conditions require, made public and policed and maintained and kept in good order by the city. The condition which we have in Boston and elsewhere in regard to private alleys would not then arise. They are not maintained in sanitary condition by the people they belong to, and the city cannot get the right to maintain them without going through very complicated and uncertain legal proceedings.

DISCUSSION

LAW ENFORCEMENT

BY HON. JOHN J. MURPHY

DR. E. R. L. GOULD presiding

Monday evening, June 5, at 8:15 o'clock

MR. EDWARD T. HARTMAN, Secretary, Massachusetts Civic League, Boston.

Mr. Veiller said: "Make it impossible through law." You cannot make things impossible through law. The best-devised laws on earth, even if he wrote them, would not enforce themselves, and that is the great difficulty we have in this country. It is the attitude of the courts, the officials and the people that makes law enforcement possible. I believe the greatest obstacle to law enforcement in Massachusetts is the courts, and I say it advisedly. Under our system of appointed courts, as soon as a man is appointed he seems to become dehumanized. He separates himself from the field of ordinary human activities and points of view.

If we force the departments to spend their time in court year in and year out in an effort merely to enforce, we are going to kill all our departments, which are under-manned in Boston. The city cannot afford to have its officers in court all the time. The courts ought to sustain the officials. That is one thing we must try to bring about if we are ever going to have any enforcement of the tenement-house law in this country.

The power of vacating tenements is, as was pointed out by the commissioner, dangerous, but is an absolute necessity. We used to think that the landlords are to be blamed, but we have found that the tenants are very largely to be blamed. When you vacate premises you have to do it sometimes in order to get a proper grip on the tenant as well as on the landlord. It may be a decided advantage to the landlord to have you vacate his property and get in a decent lot of people. It is very often the case. I do not consider it an assault upon the landlord at

all when you vacate his property. I know cases in Boston where the landlord would have been very glad to have his property vacated by the officials.

The commissioner mentioned the system of chasing the officials. Some of our officials in Boston feel that they have been chased, and there is one group which has absolutely refused to move under that process. We have a building department that is responsible for the construction of new buildings, but if the people do not like that department or its rulings they may go to our board of appeals, which was an invention of our politicians for the purpose of obstructing the wheels of business. Builders appeal to that which is apparently so constituted that there is only one man on it who has a human view of this subject of housing; everybody else looks at it from the financial point of view. They say, "Here is a freak-shaped lot in Boston, and the only way a man can build on that is the way he wants to; therefore let him," and he gets a permit almost invariably, so that our board of appeals is something you cannot chase. We have tried it, but you cannot chase anything that will not get out of the way.

I believe the public is in large measure responsible for the work of a department. If the public ignores the work of a department, the department has no impetus, no interest in doing things well. We should know when our department is doing good work. People must support the departments by knowing in the first instance what they are doing. You cannot support a department unless you know what it is up to, and the department must, for that reason, welcome the investigations of the people either in their private capacity or through an organization.

MR. JOHN P. O'BRIEN, Assistant Corporation Counsel, New York City:

It is a great field to think about, it is a vast territory to go over, New York city and its great tenement-house law,—when you consider our population, increasing each year by additions from the other states of the union and from foreign countries. It is a vast question when you think that the 626 square miles

we have in New York city are being rapidly covered by congested buildings, and when you get to some parts of our city, like certain portions of the Borough of the Bronx, and when you see what was a year ago virgin soil now covered by vast areas of tenement houses, you may form some idea of what we have to deal with and of what a beneficent law our tenement-house law is. I am glad here in a humble way to have an opportunity, after the experience I have had in testing the law and in seeing it in the crucible of the court's analysis, to pay a tribute to those whose wisdom, learning and zeal produced the law as it was enacted in 1901. I think it stands unique. I do not think there is any statute on any statute book that can compare with it in its effectiveness in reaching the ends it was designed to reach. It is unique in the fact that it has many of its minute details laid down in the law. If you go into building codes and ordinances and health regulations of other cities you will find that a vast amount of the work is left to the discretion of the head of a department, or certain officials. They are given power to adopt regulations, and those regulations are given the force of law, and they are enforced in that way. We have in our law all the details laid down; for example, we have the minutest details of fire-escapes laid down in the law itself, so that everybody may know of what iron they must be built, and how many nuts and bolts must be used in their construction, and at what angles the stairs must be built. Thus the means of evasion are reduced to the minimum.

I appreciate the truth of Mr. Murphy's statement that the enforcement of the law has been brought about to a large extent by instructing the people as to what the law meant. There has been a vast amount of work done; the work done by the new-building bureau of the tenement-house department has been more than instructive. I may say here—I hope there are no architects present—that many architects have learned how to build and construct tenement houses, and how to draft plans for them by going to the tenement-house department and learning how from the officials there; in other words, they put the plans in without knowing the law, and when they get a long list of objections they learn what the trouble is, and thereby they are taught the law, as usual at the poor property owner's expense.

Another effective weapon in enforcing the law has been the fact that in most cases where the law was attacked it has been sustained. Whatever we may say about the shortcomings of our lower courts, where penalty suits are brought up, whatever may be said about the human side of a judge who wants to help the under dog, we must say a good word about the courts that have stood by the law from the beginning. Out of a large number of cases that have gone to the supreme court, where by mandamus or other actions they have sought to tear down the provisions of the law, the tenement-house department has been victorious in every case except five or six which should never have been allowed to come into court, because the difficulty ought to have been adjusted elsewhere.

There was a great case in which the constitutionality of the tenement-house act was brought up, and where the facts showed that the owner of a tenement house had an equity which was practically wiped out by the enactment of the tenement-house law. That case began in the lower courts and went to the appellate division and the court of appeals and finally to the Supreme Court of the United States; it was upheld in every instance. When I read here recently a discussion of recent decisions of our Supreme Court, and also references to the new phases of judicial interpretation, and the so-called light of reason, and reason as applied to law, and when I recalled the fact that in the joint-traffic case before the Supreme Court, and the Trinity House cases, the court did indeed say that no matter whether there has been in the cases in question a violation of the express provisions of the law, they must give a reasonable interpretation, I realized what difficulties were surmounted when the tenement-house law was tested in court, and yet we won out in every case.

That was not without exception. On the other side of the river, in Brooklyn, there has been some tendency on the part of the courts to look to the equity side of such cases as came before them involving the tenement-house law. They let in the light of reason referred to in some of our Supreme Court cases. But now, while we welcome the light of reason, while it is a great thing to have the law reasonably enforced, and to have

men at the head of the tenement-house department to enforce a mandatory law, and apply intelligent reason to it, it is a fortunate thing that within the last ten years we did not have any too much of the light of reason when the question of the mandatory requirements of the tenement-house law came before the courts.

I am not going to get into a technical discussion of the cases, but it is indeed gratifying to feel that the law as drawn in the first instance has gone through these tests and been upheld. When I think of the archaic law we have in the building code of our city, and contemplate the splendid mechanism of our tenement-house law, I have a feeling of gratitude, respect, praise and admiration for those men, many of whom are here to-night, who made this law possible.

There are many ways in which we may get after the culprit who violates this law. We may sue him after he has refused to comply with the law, by getting him into a municipal court and bringing a complaint against him there; we may have a fine imposed upon him of $250 and may get judgment for it. Concurrently with the judgment we may file a lien in the county clerk's office which will prevent his selling his property or giving a mortage upon it; we may turn the judgment over to the sheriff and collect the money, and thus teach him a lesson. If we want quick action, if he has shown a flagrant spirit in the violating of the law we may go into the police court and charge him with a misdemeanor, because a violation of the tenement-house law is a misdemeanor. If the case calls for some other kind of action than one for the collection of a penalty or a police-court prosecution, which brands the owner as the violator of a criminal law, if the facts warrant it, and if the conditions are such as justify it and bring it within the provisions of the Greater New York charter, we may issue an order to provide for a summary vacating of the property. These are three ways in which a culprit can be reached, and to cover the cases of those who do not reside in New York, a non-resident, or a man who has so much money that he may stay out of the state most of the year, we have a most effective provision in our tenement-house law.

We had a case where a non-resident owner of a certain tenement house was involved. In its day it was a modern apartment house. It was supposed to be fireproof but I should fear to live in it. However it is on the record, and conforms at least to the minimum requirements for fireproof tenements erected prior to the enactment of the tenement-house law. When the violations were discovered it was found that the property was in control of an agent and that the non-resident owner lived in Boston and could not be reached. After the usual processes were gone through we applied there the fourth weapon provided by our tenement-house law, which is an action "against the house," an action *in rem*, in which the house is made the defendant, and the action is brought in our supreme court. The summons is served by tacking it to the house and sending it to the reputed owner. After that we wait for results and we always get them, because when an owner gets the formidable-looking document he knows that that means business and something must be done. In this case mentioned, though the matter was handled by astute lawyers, they confessed judgment for the penalty. For the information of other cities who seek a model, I will say that I do not think there is any law that could fill the bill so well as our tenement-house law. When I say that I do not mean that you are to do as they did in Wisconsin, where they took New York's law as a model, and applied it not only to cities but to rural districts as well. The court declared it unconstitutional, because they had applied one rule to rural and city districts, which was an unfair and unreasonable exercise of the police powers of the legislature.

But if there is anything over and above the point mentioned by Mr. Murphy that leads to the effectiveness of the enforcement of the tenement-house law, it is the prestige which the department has acquired by reason of the manner in which the officers enforce the law, the certainty with which they go about the department's business, and the success they have attained in getting the courts to sustain the law. The cases have been properly presented to the court, and the officers have not gone in with the weakest cases, thus running the risk of having the laws declared unconstitutional. Sometimes we have hesitated

with some of the features of our vacating orders. We have at times avoided that as we would a great danger, for we feared that if we went into the courts they might hold that the tenement-house law did not give the property owner proper safeguards in the sections which provide for a summary vacation of property, and that they would declare the law unconstitutional in that respect.

A good deal might be said, I think, along the lines suggested by Commissioner Murphy, of the good feeling that has been brought about in recent years by coöperation between the tenement-house department and organizations made up of tenement-house owners in our city. It has been a means of exchange of ideas, and a means of better understanding; it has wiped out hostilities and misunderstandings, and has brought these men closer to the departments. Their representatives, keen, intelligent men, have so understood the workings of the department and the details of the law that they have been ready to go back to their organization meetings and teach property owners what the law means. They have advised them to comply and they have complied. That has meant a great deal; it has meant that when they gather in meetings they keep pace with recent decisions on the law and they have come to an understanding that over and above the penalties for violating the law there were other penalties, that a *lis pendens* may stand in the way of closing a mortgage, and in the strenuous times that followed the panic of 1907 this became a very serious matter, the securing of a mortgage or the extending of a mortgage. But more that that, they have come by these meetings to realize that under decisions of the courts a man who owns a tenement house and fails to comply with the law in regard to fireproof construction or exits to fire escapes, renders himself liable in a negligence suit for damages, because the courts will hold a violation of our tenement-house law to be presumptive evidence of negligence.

It has recently been held in our courts, in connection with building-code violation, in a case which went to the court of appeals, where an owner had failed to comply with the requirement of our building code requiring him to guard properly a hoistway or hatchway, and where a policeman at night in the

course of his duty, and in the dark, had entered through the door and fallen to his death, that the owner was liable in damages for negligence to the widow of that policeman. That case went to the court of appeals and was affirmed. These things have become known to lawyers through the representatives of the tenement-house organizations and their attorneys, and owners are gradually coming to realize that even for selfish reasons it is better to conform to the law, and thereby not only protect themselves, but give to the dwellers of tenements in the thousands of tenement houses in our city the protection they need from fire and death.

So there is much to be said upon the question of law enforcement. We do have difficulties in the lower courts, and occasionally there come disappointments, but I would take on the whole, both as to the courts and as to the tenement-house owner, too, an optimistic view that looks toward a thorough understanding of the law and respect for the law, and the aggressive, though orderly and diplomatic enforcement of it. When I say these things I do not mean that I would tolerate for a moment anything that looked like lack of virility in the enforcement of the law. I believe if we had an anemic and delicate enforcement of the law it would have been beaten long since or abrogated and repealed; but on the other hand we must realize too that some of the evils which perhaps those who are back of this congestion movement think are deplorable and almost insurmountable will undoubtedly be corrected through the instrumentality of this beneficent law in the development of the city. Before the approaches to the Delancey street bridge were made there were thousands of those tenements below standard on the ground now taken by the approaches. The same thing was true near the site of the Pennsylvania terminal. I think there is a great deal of hope for the future.

MR. MARANI:

The Ohio law is full of inconsistencies with reference to its enforcement. We have many cases in the building department in Ohio that we have taken to court, because I have honestly

tried to enforce regulations, but every time, I regret to state, we have met failure.

In one case the city solicitor, after taking the case under advisement, said that he thought we had better grant the concessions to this particular owner, who was a man of wealth, and that if the case were taken to the supreme court they might rule the code unconstitutional. Think of a statement made by a court to this effect, that a stable does not become a stable until a horse goes into it, in spite of the protests of the neighbors who saw a stable being built and came to me to complain. We looked up that man's application and found that he had applied for a small storage house at the rear of his premises, and it was so located, but the inspectors reported that there was a manger being erected there and that it had all the ear-marks of a stable. We took this case up to the city solicitor, and he told me I had better get a warrant out for this man's arrest, and this was properly and legally done. After several postponements, all of which took time, we got this man finally into court and the judge said, "By what surmise do you think this man intends a violation of the law? He is putting up a building, and if he wants to put a manger in his house he can do so."

I have another case in view, where a man came in for an order for an ordinary two-family dwelling. Imagine my consternation when the inspector reported that the applicant was not putting in the necessary division walls but was putting in four toilets and four kitchen sinks. It was plain to us that four families were going into that building, and therefore I went through the regular process with the city solicitor, and this court again said: "You are premature in this thing; a man can put in four closets in his house if he wants to, and he can put in four sinks, and your surmises in regard to his intending to violate the law are not sufficient just now."

I waited, and caused that man's arrest when the four families went in. Here is the inconsistency of the thing; there is a section of the code which provides a penalty, and this penalty is a fine of not less than $5 and not more than $500, with imprisonment for not more than six months, or both. On the strength of the four families the man was arrested, and the

court imposed a fine of $25. By careful computation I think that the wall would have cost $375, so that the $25 fine saved him $350, and the court refused to order his arrest again because he had paid the penalty; so the four families are living there now.

These questions of the building code are not surmises on my part, but are well authenticated and are reasonable statements after a careful study of the building laws. How can you reconcile yourself to a building law that says a chimney shall not be less in height than thirty three and one third times its average diameter? When you have a conglomeration of laws designed to cover building operations, the laws being made effective, presumably, to insure the correct building of structures, and when intelligent builders and owners come across a statement of that sort it shakes their faith.

MR. VEILLER:

I wish to point out the great advantage we have in New York in having special counsel assigned to our tenement-house department to enforce the tenement-house law. Without that strong arm of the law we could not expect to have efficient enforcement; the commissioner could not help do much if he had to take his turn in the general run of actions in the corporation counsel's office. So I would urge all here tonight who care about the enforcement of the tenement-house law to work for efficient special counsel to aid in the enforcement of the tenement-house law.

The second point is in regard to speed of prosecution. There are two speeds, as with the automobile; there is the new-building work, which requires much greater speed than old-building work. To be effective in enforcing laws in regard to new buildings you must correct the defects immediately, generally within twelve hours. That means you must have the power to stop the job; you must not be compelled to go to court to get an injunction, but you must be able to stop the builder summarily and tell him that if he lays another brick until that matter is remedied he will be arrested and put in jail. With regard to sanitary evils the other speed is all that is needed; you can

afford sometimes to allow certain sanitary evils to drag on for two or three weeks or even a month; sometimes they drag much longer, but that is not a normal period.

Another point I should like to make is the great improvement in having penalty clauses enforced. We have all these penalties —perhaps not so many as New York—in all the cities of America, but they are seldom enforced; they are a dead letter. That is the great reason in my mind why law enforcement here is so different from what it is in Europe. In Europe all the laws are made to be enforced and are enforced, and the whole population expect that they will be enforced. Why should a negligent owner here fear an order from the department when he knows that he is in no danger of penalty?

That brings me back to Mr. Hartman's point that we must educate our courts. It is a matter of education. Our courts need to be shown; they need to be taken around to see the things that you saw this morning at first hand, and they need to have the commissioner from time to time see them in a social way and point out to them what the department is doing, so they may realize that when a case comes into court it means that every friendly effort to get a certain regulation complied with has been made before recourse is had to the law. When the judges realize those things we shall get much more active support from them.

THE CHAIRMAN:

I remember one remarkable case where the judges needed educating. It was a case in Paris, where it took thirty-three years to get water introduced into the houses. From that time to this is a far call indeed, and while it may take some time to adjust minor differences and to educate judges, especially in the minor courts in this country, yet I believe the time will come when in all matters the rights of property will be subordinated to the rights of human life.

DISCUSSION

THE TENANT'S RESPONSIBILITY

BY MISS EMILY W. DINWIDDIE

DR. E. R. L. GOULD presiding

Monday evening, June 5, at 8:15 o'clock

MR. ADOLPH BLOCH, United Real Estate Owners' Association, New York:

I am happy to be here as a representative of the landlords, and I am sure you will realize that there are two sides to this complex tenement-house question.

Of course, I may state at the outset that I do not represent any landlord who keeps his house in the filthy, dilapidated condition that you observed this morning. I do not represent the owners of houses in Baxter and Ludlow and Suffolk street, nor those who own houses in the Italian quarters; nor do I choose to defend any property owner who does not keep his house in clean, sanitary condition and in compliance with the requirements of the law. The conditions that you saw this morning are as strange to me as they are to you, and I have lived here in this city all my life. We have been discussing the tenement-house law to-night, and I am glad to confirm what has been said, that the tenement-house law has done a great deal for the welfare of the city.

The problem that we had to contend with, the problem that brought us face to face with the situation, that made it necessary for us to take the case from the lowest court of the land to the highest court, was presented because you defined the words "tenement house" to mean every house in the city of New York, occupied or arranged to be occupied by three or more families doing their cooking independently. That meant not only the slums and the rookeries and the terrible houses that you saw this morning, but it meant the Van Norden apartment house, the Alwyn Court and others of that class, where the lowest rent is $6,000 a year for a single apartment.

The commissioner said, I think, that there were one hundred and twelve thousand tenement houses in New York. Now, you do not consider for one single moment that those one hundred and twelve thousand tenement houses are of the kind you saw this morning? No; I doubt very much whether there are more than fifteen thousand or twenty thousand or twenty-five thousand. As I stated in the very beginning, I have no sympathy for the man, nor do I believe we have one in our membership, who would keep a house such as you saw this morning.

The tenement-house law when orignally passed in 1901 attempted to deal with a very difficult situation; it applied the law to all the houses classed as tenements. Mr. Veiller stated in his interesting book on the housing problem that in New York the errors of former administrations were crystallized in brick and mortar. That is true. When those houses were built fifteen or twenty years ago open air shafts were not required, courts were practically unknown; the law laid down certain requirements as to the construction of houses, and the houses were built in accordance with the law as it existed at that time. Owners purchased their houses in reliance upon the fact that they were constructed under the supervision and direction of the municipal departments and officers charged with the sworn duty of carrying out the law, and they had reason to believe that those houses could not be declared illegal and that their property could be taken away from them only in case of dire necessity.

I am not going into a discussion of that question,—that is not the purpose of my attendance here. I have regretfully felt for many years that there was a wide and deep abyss between the Charity Organization Society and the Real Estate Owners' Association which I represented. On one side were the theorists and faddists, as we regarded them. I had the highest regard for both Mr. deForest and his able and efficient lieutenant, Mr. Veiller, who by their concerted efforts could pass anything in this legislature, backed up by the settlement and charity workers. On the other hand, there was pictured the greedy, grasping landlord that wanted to suck the last drop of blood from a tenant. I am not of that class. I was very

glad to narrow that abyss and shake hands across it with Mr. Veiller, and the old-time enemy, Mr. Veiller, I am glad to acknowledge publicly as an esteemed personal friend. I hope the friendship that exists between us will be continued for many years.

I trust that the tenement-house problem may be viewed both from the standpoint of the charity worker and from the standpoint of the taxpayer. I might say a word or two as to the profits of New York tenement houses. I represent men and women like you, and people who have by dint of hard work, industry, perseverance and frugality invested the savings of a lifetime in a house properly built, as they thought, believing that in their declining years they would have an income from their earnings upon which they or their widows or their orphans might live. That is the class of people I represent.

When the tenement-house law was passed it applied not only to the slums but to all of the houses occupied by three or more families. The tenement-house law with the greatest detail recorded every requirement as to these houses. No interior room was legal unless it had a window, an open court or a shaft of a certain size; up to 1891 there was no requirement for houses, courts or shafts of that size, so it followed that many interior rooms became illegal under the law. Now I have no regard for anybody that wants dark rooms. If there is any room in the city of New York that is absolutely dark, as has been described,—where rays of sunlight never penetrate,—I think that a commentary on the manner of the enforcement of the law by the tenement-house department of the city. I cannot help feeling that if, after all the laws passed, we still have such conditions, where people live in squalid surroundings, in a cellar, or in a house where conditions are so bad, there must be something wrong. We were not favoring those people, not at all. The problem we had to contend with was the fact that under the law certain rooms became illegal. They were called dark rooms simply because they did not comply with the legal definition of a room, as they did not have windows opening upon the street or yard or court of prescribed dimensions.

But a great many of our troubles have passed, largely through

the efforts of the Charity Organization Society and Mr. Veiller. I think with few exceptions we have reached a point where the law can be enforced properly and where it will be and should be obeyed. We also suffered by reason of technical enforcement of the law. I have personally the highest regard for the present commissioner; I feel that he is doing everything to the best of his ability, and I think he is doing it in a sensible and practical way—but we had a commissioner in the department who required the vacating of rooms classed under the law as basement rooms. In one case the house was situated diagonally across from the house of a millionaire on Ninety-third street; the janitor happened to occupy the quarters in the basement, and he had been there for a good many years; the basement had four rooms on one side and four on the other, in all eight rooms. There was no question about light and ventilation, no question about the height of the room and no question about the sanitary condition; the trouble seemed to be that the ceiling of the front room did not happen to be quite two feet above the curb. It lacked one and one-half inches. The tenement-house department sent two city surveyors and we sent two; we had a great deal of correspondence as to whether or not that terrible room or those terrible rooms should not be required to be vacated because there was a difference of about that much, and I think everybody conceded that the conditions were all right.

Now, we have some members in the association who naturally resent it when they receive an order from the tenement-house department requiring some change or alteration that they feel, if complied with, will not mean the improvement of the house. In the early enforcement of the law there were a great many such orders issued. The commissioner said a few minutes ago there were 600,000 violations. In other words, all the past errors crystallized in bricks and mortar suddenly over night were required to be made absolutely perfect, or as nearly perfect as was possible in the high conception of the members of the tenement-house commission. While we were discussing the law at one of our meetings a member arose and said: "Mr. Chairman, ordinarily I am credited with being a man of some courage; I am a civil war veteran, I am not afraid to go home

in the dark, and I am not afraid of burglars; but about a quarter of eight in the morning, when I hear the whistle of the letter-carrier, I go down stairs in fear and trembling lest I find a letter from the tenement-house department ordering me to do some thing that is absolutely unnecessary."

That illustrates the feeling of the tenement-house owners at that time. I am gratified to state that much of this difficulty has been overcome. I remember the case referred to by my worthy and very good friend, our most efficient corporation counsel, Mr. O'Brien—perhaps I may use the words slightly changed of Pitt in his speech before Parliament: "The atrocious crime of being a *landlord* I shall attempt neither to palliate nor to deny."

I trust that when we draft laws the real-estate owners may confer and coöperate with the philanthropists and people interested in sociology and the housing of people in the cities, so that they will not work an injustice.

In the famous case of Tenement House Department against Moeschen, the principle involved was simply this: Can the legislature require you to destroy that which it required you to create, unless it be established that the thing required to be destroyed is a nuisance *per se?* In other words, can a law be passed that is retroactive? Can the legislature pass a law which affects a house already existing and which was built in accordance with the law as it existed at the time of construction, and was built under the supervision, direction and control of municipal departments? Furthermore, can the legislature after requiring you to do a specific thing in the form of sanitation, as to install an appliance that cost $300, $400 or $500—can the legislature require you to destroy such appliances unless it be established that they are a nuisance *per se?*

Can it be, that people who have complied with every rule and regulation of the law, who have kept their houses in good sanitary condition, concerning which there can be no criticism at all—can those owners be required to destroy those things which the legislature had required them to create and substitute something else at an expense equivalent to the equity in the house of the owner?

In this particular case, it was a woman who owned the house. I think the house was worth about $18,000, and I believe the mortgage on the house was $14,000 or $15,000. In other words, the equity in the house, that is the amount over and above the mortgages, amounted to about $3,000, and it was estimated that to adopt one of the particular forms of construction required by the law would require an expenditure of about $3,000. In other words, such equity as remained for the woman in the house would have been wiped out. I think everybody believed that the conditions surrounding her house were quite good, and better, far better, than those which generally existed.

We took that into the municipal court as a test case and the decision was rendered against the landlord; but the justice of the municipal court thought the questions involved so important that he "kicked" us upstairs into the appellate term of the supreme court. There the learned justice said that the questions involved were so important that, if asked for, leave would be granted to go to the appellate division. So we went to the appellate division, and the case was argued there at great length. The appellate division saw the difficulty of the problem that it had to solve. A long opinion was handed down, and at the end of the opinion the court stated that if application therefor were made, leave would be granted to appeal to the court of appeals of the state of New York. So we went up to Albany and argued the case there. The learned court again decided against the landlord; but upon our application for reargument on the ground that the court had referred to certain principles in its opinion which we contended had no application to our side of the case, leave was granted to apply to the Supreme Court of the United States for permission to appeal to that court, which we did, and the appeal was taken. I might say here that leave to appeal is granted by the courts only in special cases. It is a matter of special privilege, not of right, to go from the lowest to the highest court. That explains to some extent my "temerity" in taking the case to the highest court. In editorials that were perhaps inspired by my friend, Mr. Veiller, referring to that terrible case being taken to the Supreme Court, the sordidness of

the counsel defending the case was spoken of, and it was charged that it was simply a case of making as much money as we could out of the case. I wish I could tell you how much money we made. The court said that our application should be made to the legislature, which we did with some measure of success. The Supreme Court of the United States held that anything that related or appeared to relate to the health, welfare and safety of the community was within the police power of the state. That made the decision as absolute and far-reaching, and in some respects as novel, I think, as the recent decision in the Standard Oil case.

But perhaps we should be gratified that the decision was finally rendered because the relations between our organization and yours became such that I think we may go on and endeavor to enforce the law in a practical way, and accomplish a good deal more. Do you know that the average house in the city of New York brings less than six per cent interest? You may not believe it, but I tell you from my own experience of nearly eighteen years, not only as the attorney of an association but personally as the owner of a number of houses. Sometimes I wish that Mr. Veiller owned one of them. I offered him one at one time and he refused to take it. I have a more or less intimate knowledge of the better class of houses in the city mortgaged for less than two-thirds of the value, and the equity rarely nets more than six per cent.

I doubt very much whether more than two or three per cent of all the houses in New York city now pay more than six per cent. Perhaps I should exclude from the very beginning those houses with which I am not familiar, to which I referred in the beginning. I cannot believe that even they pay more than six per cent, because my experience has always been that the moral obligation of an owner is identical with his own interest. The character of houses that we have been speaking about cannot bear adequate return. The average house pays about six per cent. You can put your money out on first mortgages at four and a half or five per cent, and the difference of one per cent or one and a half is a mere pittance for the management and care of the houses, compliance with all

the requirements of the various municipal departments, and the trouble and bother with tenants. The tax department ought not to be forgotten. The landlord is more or less a collector of taxes for the city of New York.

I thank you for the opportunity that the landlord has had to present the landlord's side of the case.

DISCUSSION

BEST TYPES OF SMALL HOUSES

BY MISS HELEN L. PARRISH

MR. LAWRENCE VEILLER presiding

Tuesday afternoon, June 6, at 3 o'clock

MR. J. M. HANSON, The Modern Homes Company, Youngstown, Ohio.

I think we are all agreed that it is much more desirable if every family can have its own house detached, and we are much indebted to Philadelphia for having demonstrated that this is possible in a city of so large a population, where land is worth up to six thousand dollars an acre. Chicago has demonstrated that the height of tenements can be limited even in the larger cities. We should not have these larger tenements outside of New York, where they are surrounded by water and cannot spread as they can in the west. But cities up to five hundred thousand inhabitants do not need tenements at all. Of course, the smaller towns that are just developing into cities are inexperienced, and many of them seem to think that tenement houses are unavoidable as the cities develop. This association must keep before those communities the idea that the tenement is not a necessity.

Youngstown is one of those communities which made a growth in the last decade of 78 per cent, and that growth is still being maintained. We have had to make more provision for the industrial class which is coming in than private enterprise would naturally make. The Associated Charities three years ago found there was a serious housing problem. It was the overcrowding of old houses, several families living where one family should live, simply because there was not sufficient accommodation for all.

A study was made of one of the worst districts, and figures were given that were quite a revelation to the people of our city.

So we had little difficulty in organizing a special company for

the purpose of providing homes. I am going somewhat into detail on this, as I know that many other communities are facing the same problem that we have faced, and want to know how to go about forming a company along the same lines.

I wish to say that such a company is a necessity, properly to handle that question in such a community. Private enterprise cannot be depended upon to take a sufficiently keen interest in attending to details and keeping up to such a standard as we housing people think is demanded, and a housing organization will not only do good in the houses they themselves provide, but will set standards which will be followed by private capital in new houses.

We do our own building. Five months before beginning operations we hired a superintendent who had been superintendent of one of the rolling mills there, used to handling men and organizing forces on construction work, and familiar with material. We first sent him to Washington for a week under William H. Baldwin, who showed him what the Sanitary Homes Company has done there. Then he went to Chicago, to the national cement show, and went around wherever there were big building operations to study different types of construction, different methods of handling such work. When we began operations a year ago our superintendent had the matter well in hand; he was well informed as to what other communities had done and as to the relative advantages of different materials.

We also had many ideas as to the plans of the houses. Of course we have learned a good deal since. We started out with one thing definitely in view, however, and that is that we would build nothing with a common hall. In order to keep rents down to $10 a month we used a form of construction which is called the "terrace." There were no common stairways, halls, baths or toilets. We designed a house which is in effect a number of houses joined together, eliminating one wall. They are cheaper in construction, occupy less land, and therefore can be rented cheaper.

The material decided upon was a Youngstown product which is available in almost all sections of the country now, a cement tile, manufactured by a patent process. It is cast in a mold and

partially dried by steam before being released from the mold. Then it is carried away on trucks to the drying sheds and allowed to stand until well seasoned. After investigating many different kinds of building material, we settled upon that concrete tile. We thought for a long time that we should build a solid monolithic construction, but after investigating thoroughly we gave up the idea and are still using the original material. We find it very satisfactory, as it is handled much faster than you can handle forms of concrete, and it gives abundant air space in the wall. The same material is being used in some of the best residences in the city. The wall is absolutely dry and the cellar walls are laid on concrete footings, so that you would find it very hard to detect a single crack in the walls of houses which have been standing for a year, because of this care in construction.

The first installation was a ten-family terrace, three rooms, bath and laundry. None of our people are obliged to do the laundry work in the kitchen or in the living room. The laundry room is in the basement, fitted with hot water. The cheapest rent is $10 a month. Each family has a good bath, high grade plumbing and gas fixtures, and this laundry room is provided for family washing. Then we put up 49 detached single family houses, four and five rooms, bath and laundry. These houses are 16 by 30 outside dimensions, with two rooms below and two above, with a stairway leading to the second floor going off from the kitchen, the cellarway being at the side of the house, and the steps leading down to the cellar being under the steps leading to the second floor, with an outside entrance to the cellar on the landing at the side of the house. These houses are built upon a tract of ground containing almost seven acres, which we procured at a great bargain. It cost us about $2,000 an acre, and the houses were placed fronting 100 feet from each side of the tract, leaving a space 170 feet between the rows and about 800 feet in length, for a park.

That park contains a fraction under three acres, and it has been seeded as a green, to be used as a playground for children. Upon the tract there are 113 large oak trees. These buildings are built uniformly 16 feet wide and they are on a 30 by 100

foot lot, leaving about seventy feet in the rear. That stretch in the back can be used for a little garden, and some of the tenants are so utilizing it. There are two rows of reinforced concrete clothes poles in the yard for the wash. There is a cement driveway in the rear, a cement sidewalk in front and a walk connecting the driveway, the front walk and the side cellar door. In addition to these 49 detached houses and 17 flats we have provided a grocery store and a meat market for the convenience of the tenants. Ten houses were also built for other persons, making in all 76 houses constructed the first year.

Now we are working on another installation, immediately back of one of these rows, across the street, where the houses will be for sale. We already have about a dozen tenants who should be paying for homes, and we are going to encourage them to take these houses that we are building and pay for them on a system of monthly payments. Practically all our future building operations, I presume, will be houses to sell on payments, so as to help the people own their homes. We think it will be advantageous to keep the houses on this first tract for rent, so as to get acquainted with people to whom we may sell afterwards.

There is one other installation which we expect to make for rental purposes, to accommodate those who cannot pay even $10 a month. We expect to build two large rooms with bath and a laundry to rent for $8 a month. This also will be the terrace construction.

We have also four-room houses. They cost, exclusive of the land, $1,300, and rent for $15 a month. They are two stories high, with porches. We have natural gas, and many of the tenants have little natural-gas stoves in each room. We get natural gas at thirty cents a thousand.

We began building operations in May of last year. The company paid an earned dividend of one and a fourth per cent the last quarter of that year, after being in operation about six months. That is at the rate of five per cent per annum.

The second quarterly dividend has been paid, and it is expected that the rate will be maintained. The houses are

occupied practically all the time, with a waiting list because these houses are better and give more for the money than any others in town, the rents being $10, $12 and $15 a month. We of course have changes, but the loss from vacancies has so far been very small, and a little surplus is accumulating, which is being used in various ways. We reduced rents once in one type of house, but we shall have to equip the playground, and we expect to put an attendant or play director there this summer.

After all, the most important gain in this connection is the general effect upon the community of the standards set by this company. We, of course, cannot begin to control all the building, but the moral effect upon the community and upon the other builders has been very marked, surprisingly so in the short time we have been at work, and the building standards and the rent standards are beginning to be affected.

We have called attention to the immediate need of these small houses, a need which was apparent at the time, so that building has been stimulated along those lines, and we are now removing these families from densely populated districts and overcrowded houses, and taking care of them not only in this better installation of the Modern Homes Company, but in other houses which are being erected constantly. We have demonstrated certainly that it can be done, that the best houses can be built and pay dividends quickly. When we organized our company, the philanthropic side being uppermost, a great many people who subscribed for stock called it contributing to the Modern Homes Company, but they don't talk that way now; they got dividends the same year that they invested. So we are getting all the money we want.

Our tenants are delighted and the moral influence on them is marked. Something has been said about the influence on a tenant when he gets into an old "rat hole;" he likes to help the destruction along. If half the pickets are off a porch railing he pulls the rest of them off, so as to help it along. But put him into a nice, clean dwelling, well cared for, and the better side of his nature is appealed to by his surroundings.

DR. GEORGE WOODWARD, Octavia Hill Association, Philadelphia:

I have nothing to say of the houses of the very poor. The only thought I can express is in regard to some houses I have built for people in moderate circumstances.

It so happened there were two streets one hundred and fifty feet apart, and instead of building houses that were very near those streets, we conceived the idea of building what I call a quadruple house, that is to say, they were not only side by side but back to back. That probably sounds very uninteresting, that is, it sounds very hot; but Mr. Waterman, secretary of the City Club of Philadelphia, who is one of the tenants, said that during the very hot weather people came over there to keep cool.

These houses rent for $33 a month. They are, as I say, set back from the street about thirty feet, and they are separated one from the other by, I think, twenty-eight feet. They consist essentially of a piazza, as you enter, a large living room or hall which extends back the entire depth of the house, a dining room, a large pantry and a kitchen on the first floor, two large rooms with a bath on the second and four rooms with a bath on the third.

At a rental of $33 a month they net about 5 per cent on the investment. There is large discussion about how to beautify the back yard; this is a very radical cure, because there is no back yard at all. One woman said to me that she was delighted to live in a house where she did not hear children in the houses across the back yard, and she did not see any garbage pails or ash barrels or clothes hanging out.

On the other side of one of these streets we have built twenty semi-detached houses that rent for from $20 to $25 a month, having a bath and I think eight rooms. I have nothing whatever to say about houses for the very poor, or tenement houses. I have built a tenement house, which was discussed with Mr. Veiller. I showed him the plan and called it a model tenement, and he said there was no such thing.

MR. JOHN IHLDER:

There has recently been a very careful study made in England of back-to-back houses. The result of this study was to show that back-to-back houses have a much higher death rate than those which permit of through ventilation. Do you provide in your houses for ventilation that is as thorough as through ventilation?

DR. WOODWARD:

We were much afraid of the dark corners in those houses, and we have lighted them with skylights from above, and even on a day as dark as this it is comparatively light in the hall and at the foot of the stairs. Of course these houses have been in operation for so short a time that the death rate is zero. But I cannot answer that question. I should be delighted to show you the houses, and I will say that while they are located in a decidedly unattractive neighborhood, they are occupied by people like Mr. Waterman of the City Club, an architect, the rector of a church and an artist. They all speak very highly of them.

MR. GRANGE SARD:

The situation in Albany that first attracted our notice was the fact that no houses were being built to rent for $8 or $10 or $12 or even $15 a month. We have the same situation in Albany that prevails in almost all the older cities. The shifting population has vacated many houses that were built for one family; they have fallen into the hands of people who made tenements of them, and of course they were entirely unsuitable for that purpose. We undertook to start a movement to improve the sanitary conditions of those houses.

We found people living in those houses because there were no other houses that they could move into. They said that these were not suitable places to bring up a family of children, that the houses were unsanitary, and that the general moral conditions were unfavorable. We found that regular builders chose to build houses that would rent for $30 or $40 a month, so that it seemed necessary for us to provide suitable houses at

a low cost so that at a low rental they would still not be a bad investment. We decided to form a company somewhat similar, I should judge, to that which Mr. Hanson has described. We have organized the company, have bought the land, and have arranged to build in various parts of the city.

Certain parts of the city are distinctly manufacturing sections. We have bought land there and are proposing to put up houses, so that the working men in the factories may walk to their work and save car fare, which will mean probably $25 a year for each family.

There are a great many employed in the center of the city who must necessarily ride on the cars, and we have bought other land on the outskirts of the city where we propose to build houses for those who are working in the center. We recognize that the men who work in stores, bookkeepers and clerks, who often earn less money than mechanics, need to be provided for with the other working people. So we are planning to build for these in the remote parts of thc city.

Fortunately for Albany and for our plan, land is very cheap on the outskirts of the city. We have been able to buy a nice tract near the street cars at $1,000 an acre. That will be cut up into lots, to cost not more than $50. Of course when we make streets and furnish the other facilities that are necessary, the cost will be considerably more; but we started off with cheap land, and we intend to build detached houses, giving the family a house and a little garden so that they may establish a home, and so that the children may have healthful surroundings.

We have gone into this matter primarily to demonstrate that cheap houses can be built profitably, in the hope that other builders will engage in the same enterprise. I do not think that our company, which has a capital of only $100,000, will be able to solve the problem, but some of the builders are already interested in the subject; they want to see our plans, and they are studying them as we are. We have hired a superintendent, and the public at large has taken an interest in the whole subject as being one that makes for the betterment and progress of the city.

MR. ALEXANDER LAW, Tenants' Union, New York:

I am here representing the Tenants' Union in this city, which comprises men and women who pay rent, a pretty numerous set of people, you will admit. Some of them are asking the question: "Why should we pay rent? We believe that the Creator gave the world to all of us and not to some of us. In the last analysis that means that we are paying somebody for the privilege of living on the earth." But that is another story.

We favor going down on the east side and condemning the worst block, knocking it down, and then building school houses and other houses, with sunlight and air in every room, and modern sanitary conditions that the landlord will not give, although we pay rent enough to entitle us to them and enough to enable the landlord to keep up the houses in first-class condition. We believe that in time Manhattan will become a place devoted to office buildings and factories, that the people will be compelled to move out. We favor taking Long Island into the city limits, as was done with Richmond county. The natural growth of the city is to the east. We believe the whole island could be laid out, because we believe that New York, the city of the twentieth century, is going to be built on Long Island and we can eventually furnish every family in New York with a house of its own.

Then, on a national scale, we believe we could take all the railroad lands, which the government will control, and, under the same system as that by which the government is building the Panama Canal, we could start a movement which would eventually furnish every family with a house of its own.

It will take some time, but in the meantime, while we are carrying out these ideas, we shall have no unemployed men. We believe in the Bible, which says, "They shall sit every man under his vine and under his fig tree; and none shall make them afraid." But while we have our head in the clouds, we have our feet on the earth. We have been holding meetings and coöperating with the congestion committee. We hope that eventually, some day, no matter how distant it is, in this country, at least, nobody will pay anybody else for the privilege of living on the soil that gives him birth.

DISCUSSION

GARBAGE AND RUBBISH

BY LUTHER E. LOVEJOY

MR. LAWRENCE VEILLER presiding

Tuesday afternoon, June 6, at 3 o'clock

MR. CAROL ARONOVICI, Director Bureau of Social Research of Rhode Island.

Street cleaning and the disposition of garbage and rubbish belong to the class of municipal functions which have not yet received adequate attention from our many-sided and progressive reformers. From the standpoint of the housing reformer, street cleaning, garbage and rubbish removal and disposal are as much a part of the work of creating proper home conditions as is a proper provision for toilet facilities, light and ventilation. They are problems of environment which have to do not only with esthetic considerations but with the preservation of health in the case of garbage and the prevention of fire in the case of rubbish.

Before an audience such as this it is hardly necessary to enter upon a discussion of the evils resulting from lack of proper care of garbage and rubbish, but a few words may be said relative to the conditions under which the municipality must work. In the case of garbage and rubbish three processes must be considered, namely, storage, collection and disposal.

Many of us are acquainted with the superannuated bedstead, the disheveled mattress, the accumulation of ashes and rubbish, the broken boxes and barrels and the many other varieties of waste which render thousands of our city back yards unsightly and unsanitary. In criticizing such conditions we are often tempted to blame the tenant; reformers, by force of habit, blame the landlord; and city officials, in order to shirk their own responsibility, blame both. Close study of conditions, however, points to the conclusion that while carelessness on the

part of the tenants may be a considerable factor in producing this evil, the failure to enact and enforce proper legislation relative to storage and the absence of an efficient removal service are generally at the bottom of the evil. Legislation in matters of health, when properly enforced, is as powerful an educational influence as are the schools. But legislation concerning storage without a proper system of removal by the city is ineffective. Unfortunately many cities do not provide for the removal of rubbish and the results are easily perceptible even in some of the most progressive communities.

An examination of the ordinances of thirty-three cities clearly indicates that the legislation concerning the storage of garbage and rubbish is defective and inquiries as to the enforcement of existing legislation indicates great laxity in that regard.

The conditions under which the removal of garbage and rubbish are carried on vary from place to place, but the chief things making for efficient service are accessible storage, proper receptacles and frequent removal.

In connection with the storage of garbage and rubbish, while I agree in every respect with what has been said of the alley as a residence street, I am emphatically for it as merely a means of access to the back yard of a home. New York city has the same condition as in the alley cities, only turned inside out, with the result that what is objectionable in our back alleys is there exposed to public view. That back alleys have many other advantages from the point of view of tenement construction I have no doubt; whatever criticism may be directed against them is an acknowledgment of our municipal incompetency rather than an attack on evils inherent in the very existence of alleys.

The providing of proper receptacles is another of the many difficulties which the law has not so far effectively handled and which the cities have failed to insist upon. The work of the collecting agent is made more difficult; our yards are kept in bad condition because of the failure to provide adequate receptacles; this is evident from the most casual examination of our congested tenement districts. The costliness of providing proper receptacles, however, is undoubtedly determined by the frequency of removal, which is the final step in the process of caring for household waste, so far as the tenement is concerned.

The disposal of municipal waste, as long as it is carried out in a manner that is inoffensive and economical, will be satisfactory to the tenement dweller. What this method of disposal should be is still a matter of experiment, and much remains to be learned from the European cities, where the desire for economy has helped rather than hindered development of sanitary processes.

MR. WILLIAM G. KIRSCHBAUM, Board of Health, New Bedford, Mass.

I am proud of New Bedford, and the longer I stay at this conference the more I am convinced that we are not far behind other cities. We have none of your dark rooms, though we have our housing problem, as I think Mr. Hartman knows. We are crowded, and we have the same trouble chasing up those who move from one tenement to another that they have in Boston. Mr. Lovejoy evidently has not seen the New Bedford system of handling ashes and garbage. For over sixty years New Bedford has collected ashes, and the expense has been taken from the tax levy. In a great many places I think they make the householder pay for it. Collections of ashes are made once a week from every household in the city. It works well and is in charge of the public-works department. Garbage has been collected and destroyed since 1893, collections being made twice a week from May 1st to November 1st, and three times a week from November 1st to May 1st. The garbage is sorted and kept separate. Rubbish, tin cans, bottles and such things are not kept in garbage barrels, and the garbage barrels are covered. Furthermore, under the laws of Massachusetts, the boards of health have the right to make contracts for the disposal of garbage, and our board of health was not slow in taking advantage of that law.

We have had two or three systems of disposal. The present system, which is practically that of boiling, is called the Wheelwright system, and has been the most successful. The other plans we had prior to that gave more or less trouble, breaking down or burning down, and we had to borrow the Wheelwright system temporarily. Since we have been using it it has gone along well. We are working under a cheap contract for $23,500

a year, terminating in 1914. It includes collection and destruction, and as we collect about 35 tons a day, it brings the cost to a little over $2 a ton, which is pretty good. We shall never again get a contract so low as that.

We have no trouble about policemen helping us. At the outset it was hard to get people to put out their garbage in such a way that the collectors could get at it. Now, if anything goes wrong and the woman of the house tells the officer on his beat that the garbage man has not been around, he steps to a telephone and tells the main office, they telephone the board of health office, we telephone the contractor and a team goes right down to that house and gets the garbage.

As Mr. Lovejoy stated, we send out instructions printed in English, Polish, German, French and Portuguese. We do not follow the practice of Providence, which collects the garbage and sends it into Swanzey, Massachusetts, to be fed to pigs. We do not allow this under any circumstances. When I first went on to the board of health we had 300 swine licenses; when we inaugurated this system of collecting garbage and destroying it, we reduced the number of those licenses, so that now we have only 21.

MR. WM. H. DAVENPORT, Chief Tenement Inspector, Baltimore:

We have handled the problem which Mr. Lovejoy pointed out, by using our policemen as sanitary inspectors in Baltimore. Nine-tenths of the complaints that we get in the health department come from the police department, and they are not by a sanitary squad. The ordinary inhabitant of the city has been trained whenever he finds a nuisance existing on his property, to notify the policemen on the beat, who thereupon makes an inspection, and if conditions warrant it, turns in a complaint to the health department. Our notices from the health department are served by policemen on the beat in the same way.

In the tenement-house work it is one of our regular customs when we find a nuisance or a condition such that we have to cause an arrest, to have the officer on the beat inspect the nuisance and be ready to testify in regard to it, so that our regular policemen aid us in sanitary work.

MR. DAVIS:

For four years in Paterson, New Jersey we had a collection of rubbish as we had of garbage, and it was done in a way which I think could be applied to cities having alleys. We think of applying it in Columbus.

The householder in Paterson was compelled to set out on the days of collection a can containing his garbage or his ashes. There, where there are no alleys, it necessitated the placing of the can out on the curbstone line. The collection, however, was very regular, just as regular as the calling of the milkman and the cans could easily be put back afterward. Frequently they remained until noon before they were put back and they were a little unsightly, but I do not see why that same plan could not be applied to the cities with alleys. Why cannot we compel the tenant of the house, as they do in Paterson, to place the waste in two cans, and on the day of collection set those cans outside the back fence? It would immensely reduce the cost of collection by the city. We have found in Columbus, where we have just inaugurated a collection of ashes, that it is going to cost an immense sum to go in and bring out this vast accumulation. In that connection I will say that we are going to solve the fly problem, because we are to-day having a systematic collection of all stable manure.

MR. MARANI:

These discussions have demonstrated the necessity of simple, plain laws and a just enforcement of those laws. When you tell a man that for hygienic reasons you desire certain regulations, that is all right for a man of education, but when you give it to the Pole or Italian you must tell him: "For the protection of the lives of yourself and your children it is necessary to do this or that." One appeals to the educated man and the other does not, unless you put it in terse language.

If we were as vigorous in our campaign against the garbage pail as we are against many other things, the conditions which produce the house fly would be considerably improved, but we start at the wrong end. We screen our windows; why don't we screen our garbage pails? Fresh garbage is eatable; it does

not become uneatable until it begins to putrefy. It is absolutely harmless and there is no danger attached to it at all when it is fresh, and the poor have been known to thrive upon fresh garbage from the garbage pails of wealthier people. The real danger lies in putrefied garbage, which clings to the cover and the handles of your garbage pails. Ninety per cent of the stuff that is dumped in is not a menace; it is the dirty garbage pail and the little spot which sticks to the outside or the inside, on which a hundred flies clustered.

For this reason ways and means should be devised whereby municipalities may supply the owners of buildings with a pail made of cheap material, such as paper saturated with wax or oil, to hold garbage until the collection is made, the whole thing then being burned, pail and all, and a new one left in its place. I think that is the best solution of both problems, the garbage and the receptacle. Danger also lies in the little dirty crack in the closet, and the little crack in the basin; the danger is in those little places that attract flies. Until we get the hygienic garbage pail which can be carried away and burned, I say put your screen around your garbage pail rather over your windows.

DR. KIEFER:

It was my intention to say nothing on this subject, because it has been treated by a representative of our city. The greatest trouble we have in Detroit is in getting the people to put the garbage where it will be safe, and where it can be collected. We collect some garbage in Detroit, although the impression may have gone out that we let it go altogether. The work of collection is under the department of public works, and the gentleman who has direct charge of the garbage is present at this meeting and has spoken to you once or twice. He collects an average of about 150 tons of garbage a day; it runs from 125 to 150 tons, and he collects it at a cost of $1.96 a ton, so that he is not extravagrant in his way of doing it. He is willing to do it and would be willing to collect 400 tons if he could get them.

The trouble is that he gets this 125 tons from about one-quarter of the householders of Detroit. The rest of them

throw their garbage into the alleys. You say, "Why do you let them do it?" We do not; the law is there prohibiting them, and we try to educate them to obey the law. Ten years ago the collection of garbage was made by a contractor, under the supervision of the board of health. When I became health officer I was going to clean up the city, and not have anything in the alleys that did not belong there. I got out a card, not a piece of paper, but a heavy cardboard printed in plain language, not in several languages but just plain English; on it the people were asked to take care of their garbage. They were told in simple English what garbage was, and some extracts from the law were cited to them, not in formidable language but in good English, telling them what the law required.

One of these was taken to each house in Detroit by a police officer, and each one had a little hole in it, and on each card was printed; "Please post this in a conspicuous place in your kitchen." We have had many new people since then, so for four years we have repeated this piece of advice, thinking it would have some effect. In fact, after ten years, with another department in charge of the work just as anxious for results as we are, we succeed in getting garbage from only about one quarter of the people.

I do not want to harp on the same thing every time I speak, but it is the old story,—education. Keep at it until the people understand that it is harmful to let garbage lie around, and then they will not do it any longer.

Another thing is the matter of manure. There is the place to look out for flies. That is where the flies breed. We can have manure removed sometimes by process of court when it becomes a nuisance; it is always a nuisance in a back alley.

I have a different opinion from Mr. Lovejoy as to whether the final disposition of all rubbish concerns housing reformers. I think the disposal of rubbish does concern you. In Detroit we have our garbage taken to a reduction works and reduced there. The rubbish is taken to various places called "dumps." That is your business, because the dumps become residence places very soon; and we get complaints asking, "Why don't you stop this?" We have no other place to take the stuff. I

have been urging for ten years that the city of Detroit supply itself with incinerators to dispose of it, but the city will not spend the money that is necessary. That is the reason I should like to have the people get together.

DR. BEATTY:

In Pittsburgh we have about 32 uniformed sanitary policemen. They placard houses for disease; they gather cultures, visit back yards and report privy vaults; they look after rubbish; they go into alleys and highways and hedges and attics and cellars. Their uniform takes them everywhere. I was much interested in hearing somebody talk about the police not doing such work. We could get our police to do anything in that regard. The health bureau of the city of Pittsburgh is organized on the plan of reciprocity. We have a tenement-house division, a plumbing division and a sanitary division, and we are now going to have a smoke division. These divisions contain 185 men, from whom I have daily reports. These men work together reporting, and they are responsible one to another. If my tenement-house people see anything that should be reported to the plumbing or the sanitary men, they make that report; the same thing is true in all these different departments. They make their record: "Reported so and so to the sanitary division," on their daily report. The daily report of my men is two feet square, and it is filled up with everything they do from the time they leave the office in the morning until they get back the next morning to make their report. That is true in all divisions.

Our garbage and rubbish is collected by the city at the expense of $212,000 a year, for a population of 655,000. We have the garbage weighed, simply because we want to find out whether it is increasing or decreasing, and we have found that it is increasing. Our rubbish is disposed of in dumps.

We are trying to get in touch with the people of Buffalo, who destroy their rubbish by incinerating it, I believe, and we are going to do that. We have an appropriation of $85,000 for building such a plant, and when I left home the blue prints for that plant were lying on my desk.

MRS. THOMAS S. KIRKBRIDE, Philadelphia:

I intend to follow up that admirable garbage-pail suggestion by stating that now at the Civic Club of Philadelphia there is a large brick on exhibition manufactured by a small municipality in England from the garbage collected in the town. This brick is odorless and is useful either for heating or for cooking, and as I understand, all the expense of garbage collection and more has been paid for from the sale of these bricks. I am sorry that I have not the name of the English town to give you, but it would be worth while if some member of this conference should go over to England and find out the statistics and the methods of that municipality, and bring them back to us.

MR. JAMES P. KRANZ, Social Service League, Houston, Texas:

We have four commissioners and a mayor. The business of the city is divided between these five men. The mayor has charge of public health, police and education; there is a commissioner on fire, on streets, on finance and on water. Each man is responsible for his department and the mayor for all of them.

In regard to the collection of garbage, we have not an alley in the city of Houston and all the garbage must be placed in front of the premises. The city ordinance requires that cans for holding garbage be non-leakable and have a close fitting cover. The garbage is collected every day. The city requires hotels to pay for the removal of excess garbage. The city collects, free of charge, two barrels of garbage from every house and all over that must be paid for.

I think you are wrong when you rely on police fines to make a poor man understand what the sanitary code is. I am engaged in settlement work in Houston, where our neighborhood is largely Jewish, Italian and Mexican. These people understand little English and know little of the law. In Mexico, where most of them come from, there is little regard for sanitary conditions. We find through the clubs and neighborhood visitors of our settlement that personal interest in these people is the effective means of accomplishing something. They have no rational standard of cleanliness and there is no incentive to be

clean. Our neighborhood visitors call on these people once a week or oftener and suggest that they clean up. These visitors are well received by the neighborhood, and because they are liked personally and because every woman has a certain pride in her home, cleanliness results from these visits. I recall an instance where I went to one house several weeks in succession on Monday and found the home clean. Later I called on another day in the week and found it unclean. The woman said: "Oh, I thought you were coming on Monday and I cleaned up for it." It takes a fine character to keep a home clean in the average poor districts, to keep a home clean when there is no one else in your neigborhood who does so and when no one appreciates it.

MR. VEILLER:

It seems to me that the discussion this afternoon has been the most valuable of the whole conference. I felt that way about Mr. Lovejoy's paper, and especially about the practical results that followed it up. I want to rub in Mr. Davenport's suggestion about using policemen to serve notices. There is always a policeman on the beat and he can be utilized.

MR. BALL:

It cannot be done in a very big city.

MR. VEILLER:

I think it can be done. To send out, nail up and take down notices you can always utilize a policeman.

As to putting out cans, you may be interested in knowing what New York does, in the light of what our New Bedford friend says. We do put the cans out in front; we have no alleys and we do compel the collection of garbage and ashes and rubbish every day, not once a week or twice a week, nor once in six months, but every day. We have to do that in New York on account of our big cosmopolitan population. But we do not believe in collecting twice a day for restaurants and lodges and clubs; they ought to pay for such special services. We not not believe in doing that in New York, but we believe in doing it for the poor people, people who cannot afford to pay for it.

I think the suggestions about popular education, especially Mr. Marani's, were very valuable, as to instructing the people in language they can understand, for the protection of themselves and their children.

In regard to the cans, if you do not know what they do in Minneapolis you should know about it. There they compel the householder first to drain the garbage and get out the liquid, and then wrap the garbage in newspapers. Everybody has newspapers these days. What is the advantage of that? It is this, that these newspaper bundles are put in the garbage cans, or even in empty boxes, or even on the ground, yet the flies cannot get at them. There is nothing to stick on the sides of the cans, they are dry. If you put the bundle inside the can the rats cannot get at it. If you write to Dr. Hall, of Minneapolis, and get those regulations from him, I am sure you will find them very valuable.

MR. LOVEJOY:

May I ask how well that plan works in Minneapolis?

MR. BALL:

It is a splendid thing, because they burn the garbage and the paper assists in the burning.

DR. BEATTY:

We do that. If the collectors come to a can where the garbage is not wrapped, they are told to let the can stay there until it is done.

MR. ALDRICH:

In Minneapolis they incinerate all their rubbish and their garbage, and they get sufficient power to light and heat several hospitals and the house of correction, and still have a lot left which they are going to use in the future. You can do that if you burn the garbage.

MR. VEILLER:

One other point I would like to make, which follows the suggestion Dr. Kiefer made, that is, that if we had a conference in

Detroit it would be of great value in stirring up the people and would help the cause of popular education. Why should we not have a conference in Detroit? I do not mean another meeting of the national association, but why should not the people in Detroit organize locally? And if it is feasible in Detroit it is feasible in Columbus and everywhere else.

DR. BEATTY:

Please do not preach the gospel of having the police tack up notices and interfere with the work of the board of health. The police department is a department by itself and the health department is a department by itself, and when you get two departments clashing you are going to have trouble.

MR. VEILLER:

I did not mean to say that there should be any confusion of functions or clash between the police department and the board of health, but I think it is an advantage to utilize that force of men scattered all over the city in doing work of this kind.

DISCUSSION

HOUSING CONDITIONS IN SMALL TOWNS

BY ELMER S. FORBES

MR. LAWRENCE VEILLER presiding

Tuesday evening, June 6, at 8.15 o'clock

MR. ROBERT E. TODD, Housing Investigator, White Fund, Lawrence, Mass.:

I will contribute a few facts to supplement Mr. Forbes' major premise underlying his discussion of ways and means, namely, that the small cities do need building regulations.

I had an amusing experience in Lynn last week. I had written to the building commissioner that I should like to see one or two plans of good houses that were popular in Lynn. The first plan shown me had two alcove rooms opening into an air shaft, and three air shafts. Lynn has only recently adopted the magnificent distance of six feet between front and rear buildings. Lowell has a building code in the works, but at present has practically no regulation for light and air in buildings, and only some of the usual regulations for fire protection.

Lowell apparently has some sanitary conditions, such as bad plumbing, use of one water closet by several families and water closets in cellars, which ought to make a city of her size ashamed of herself. The city has some large tenement houses, many of them four-story frame structures. There is one house of 32 tenements, another of 48. In one of the larger houses, where each tenement has four rooms, two are windowless, except that the end tenements in each house have windows in three rooms.

In Lawrence we have examined six of the most crowded half blocks, which may be taken as samples of about twenty blocks at the center. In the most crowded of these blocks, we find a density of population of 643 per acre.

We have in Lawrence an unusual example of water-closet requirements. In 1894, seventeen years ago, the board of

health, on account of the fact that the members were nearly all plumbers, passed a set of plumbing regulations which is not excelled by the best in Massachusetts today. These regulations demand that there be one water closet for each family, and that it have a window three square feet in area and opening to the outer air. Three years ago the requirement was added that each water closet be in a separate compartment. In practise this had been secured from the first without regulation. These regulations, enforced as they have been even in the old tenements, make it possible for Lawrence to consider her sanitary condition with a great deal of pride.

The city, however, has been playing most seriously with fire risk. More than 250 four-story frame houses is her unenviable record. In the last four and one-half years, 88 of these houses have been built, having a housing capacity of more than 2000 persons. The city has practically no fire limits, only a narrow strip of land along the main street. In 1880 there was a good-sized fire district, but at that time the real-estate interests wiped it off the books. The present fire limits are so insignificant that when the National Board of Fire Underwriters were in Lawrence in July 1908, several of the city officials, including the building inspector, did not know that there were any fire limits.

There are dark rooms to a greater extent than the citizens of Lawrence believe, and they are being created in new tenements, although not universally. Bad courts exist in many buildings, even in those being constructed to-day. I might describe one court, more than 13 feet deep, 3 feet 6 inches wide, and at the inner end with recesses on either side. At the top the width, 3 feet 6 inches, is reduced to 1 foot 6 inches. Over the whole court the boards of the clothes yard on the roof have been extended. The court furnishes the only light for two rooms on each floor, six living rooms in the house, and they are practically windowless. In addition to this, sink rooms and water closets open on the court.

Connecticut, six years ago this month, passed a building law which applies to cities of 20,000, and in the census of 1910 there are nine cities in Connecticut which come under that law. If

Massachusetts had the same law, there would be under it twenty-seven cities and the town of Brookline. Massachusetts' urban population has increased to this extent: thirty-five years ago the population in cities of 30,000 or more was 38 per cent of the total population of the state. Today the population in cities of 30,000 or more is 61 per cent. That fast we are traveling in the direction of urban living.

MR. BALL:

Under the direction of Professor Tufts, of the University of Chicago, during the summer of 1909, a more or less cursory investigation of conditions was made in Aurora, Joliet, Freeport, East St. Louis, Alton and Moline, and the same general situation of neglect and lack of control which has been spoken of this evening was found to be prevalent in all those cities. Photographs were collected showing some of these bad conditions, and an effort was made this year to get the authorization of the legislature for the appointment of a commission to study the situation throughout the state as a basis for legislation. We think the easiest way to control the situation would be through state law, which would affect the smaller as well as the larger places. It is necessary to create public opinion before we can care for these things in the state of Illinois.

In connection with my work in Chicago I have had opportunity to go out into smaller surrounding cities and see something of their housing. Freeport is a railroad town about 100 miles west of Chicago. There are not many housing evils there, and yet there are two notable examples of buildings recently erected having less than a foot and a half between them, with windows opening upon that space less than a foot and a half throughout the length of the building. There are also, on the principal street, a number of three-story and one or two four-story buildings with apartments on the upper floors and a store on the lower floor, and many of the former have rooms entirely without communication with the outer air.

Racine, Wisconsin, is the most thoroughly sewered small city that I have ever studied. It is their habit in Racine, when a man builds a house on the outskirts of the city, to extend the

sewer system two or three squares, if necessary, to sewer that house. At the same time their sewage disposal is into a small river which flows through the town, and is undoubtedly a source of river and lake pollution, which should be given attention. There are one or two very bad examples of overcrowed lodging houses in Racine which I noted; one of them was an exceedingly dirty building, in which were housed a great many laborers. I saw in the attic rooms, only six feet high, as good evidences of overcrowding as I have ever seen in a small city.

In Aurora, a beautiful little city lying on both banks of the Fox River, one would hardly expect to find bad housing, and yet in a half-day's visit I was able to point out to the mayor and city solicitor some very striking examples of things that ought not to be. There was an aggravated case of fire danger, a livery stable with horses stabled on the floor below, and above that, four apartments, two of them occupied by families and two vacant. At the rear of this building was a tumble-down shanty in which hay and vehicles were stored. The only entrance to the apartments on the second story was a stairway from the street alongside the livery stable. The building was long and deep, and the rear apartments had to depend solely upon the stairway for access. It was as bad a fire-trap as I have ever seen. I saw three shack dwellings on the banks of the Fox River in that town that for conditions of dirt and dilapidation I have never seen equaled.

I have had some experience in dirt and dilapidition. We went into one of those houses, inhabited by an old colored man, and the mayor and I went through his front room into the rear room, which was very dirty. In going out we saw cobwebs which were as thick as one's hand. Perhaps you can tell me how long a cobweb has to hang before it gets three-quarters of an inch thick.

In Aurora one of the principal sewers, four feet in diameter, and running at the time I saw it just about half full of sewage, discharges into an open ditch within twelve feet of the rear of a large lodging house in which twenty or thirty men are housed. Adjacent to that lodging house I saw another one, where on account of lack of proper conveniences it was the

habit of the housewife to throw out the kitchen slops on the adjoining ground. Although I have seen some pretty good examples of neglect, I have never seen such an accumulation of kitchen-sink refuse as was heaped up against that building. It was three feet above the level of the ground, and sloping out in conical shape from the house against which it rested.

Those are the things we find in small towns, and we should do something to remedy them. One habit I have in visiting cities is to inquire at public libraries as to what works they have on housing. I am usually suprised to learn that they have possibly only one book or perhaps two. It seems to me one of the best things that can be done where there are public libraries is to make such inquiry and suggest to the librarian the advisibility of placing in the library some of the standard housing literature.

Something was said by the last speaker about fire limits. We have the principle of local option applied to Chicago in a novel way. I have never heard an argument up to the present time in the city council or in any committee of the city council suggesting that the question of fire limits was a broad matter involving public policy, but merely a question as to what the alderman wanted or the people of that district wanted. There are some notable and surprising cases within my observation where a builder intending to erect a frame factory purchased ground outside the fire limits, and where somebody in the neighborhood, objecting to the presence of the particular structure, requested that that ground be included within the fire limits, which has been done with great alacrity. It will probably be possible in many towns where there are not at the present time frame buildings, to get requirements prohibiting their use. The difference in cost between a frame and a brick building is relatively small, not more than 10 to 12 per cent and negligible when one comes to count the advantage of the brick building over the frame.

Another point worthy of attention is the increasing tendency to underground occupation. The one thing that has impressed me in the city of New York in my observation of the last two or three days has been the increasing occupation of underground

spaces. Since I lived here seven years ago this has gone on with suprising rapidity, and there are hundreds of tenements and hundreds of other buildings that had cellars and basements unoccupied when I left here, into which have now gone business enterprises, bootblacking establishments, markets, little shoe stores, barber shops and similar establishments. These have been increasingly put underground, not alone in big cities, but in small towns.

The town of Urbana, Illinois, has about 12,000 population. It is the seat of the University of Illinois. There is no reason why there should be a single bit of underground occupation, and yet there has been put underground in a building in Urbana, a barber shop which has absolutely no communication with the outer air. It has a skylight of glass in a vault out in front, but absolutely no window to the outer air. I think of this case because it illustrates something to which we ought to have our eyes open as an increasing evil.

MRS. BACON:

I ask simply for advice, as to what can be done in a situation such as exists in Taylorsville, a village of shacks right across from Terre Haute. The conditions there are unspeakable. I should like to ask Mr. Veiller this question: Could anything be done by having another clause in the tenement-house law, if we can get one to apply to little shacks, or should we proceed by enlarging the powers of the state board of health, giving them power to wipe out these dreadful places under any pretext?

MR. VEILLER:

I think Mr. Forbes in his paper really answered Mrs. Bacon's question. I cannot see that the problem of the small town differs from that of the large city. The only way you can solve it is by awakening public sentiment which will work along the lines that Mr. Forbes has described. There is no obstacle to controlling the one-family house in Chicago any more than there is to controlling the tenement.

CAPTAIN CHARLES J. ALLEN:

First, I want to say a word in favor of state supervision. If

you will permit me, I will go back to 1903, when the effort for housing reform took definite shape in New Jersey. A number of ladies in the Oranges, essentially the residential section of the state, just outside of Newark, had organized a civic sanitation society. They came to Trenton and tried to enlist the interest of the legislature in the matter. At that time I was doing newspaper work as legislative correspondent. I talked with the ladies, and becoming much interested, brought them into the governor's office and introduced them. Governor Franklin Murphy heard what the ladies said and replied, "Prepare a resolution authorizing the governor to appoint a commission to investigate housing conditions in the state and report to the next legislature." This I did, and Assemblyman Lord introduced the resolution, which was carried without objection. In my capacity as a newspaper man I had been through various sections of the larger cities of New Jersey, and I thought that I knew housing conditions pretty well, but when I went out to make an official investigation I was astounded to find out how much I did not know; I found things that I had never seen on any superficial visit to the tenement sections and had never even dreamed of.

The commission appointed by Governor Murphy put in a full year investigating tenement-house conditions throughout the state, and at the end we started to prepare a bill for presentation to the legislature. We had the kind services of Mr. de Forest and Mr. Veiller in the ground work of our bill. We found that in New York there was a tenement-house law for cities of the first class, which left the smaller municipalities entirely alone. That did not suit us. We found that the smaller municipalities so far as we had investigated them in New Jersey, already had a tenement-house problem to wrestle with or had started in to create one. Our bill was introduced in the legislature in 1904, by Mr. Everett Colby, who has since become famous in New Jersey. He was then minority leader and Congressman Hamill was majority leader.

That bill had the unusual experience of being discussed favorably on the floor by both majority and minority leaders; and it passed the assembly without a dissenting vote. In the

senate there was much opposition. The tenement-house owners, the speculative builders and the contractors, the material men and a number of architects found in the proposed tenement-house law many things that were dangerous to their business, and they organized a determined opposition, with Senator Hudspeth as the leader on the floor of the senate, to fight the bill when it came up on third reading. The senator stayed up all night in Trenton with architects and contractors who were loading him up with additions to the bill.

One of the features of the proposed bill was the outer court, four feet wide, and Senator Hudspeth argued on that point, that it was ridiculous and absolutely absurd, "a tenement with a court four feet wide." Senator Bachellor promptly replied to Hudspeth's objections by saying, "What do you understand by the term 'court'?"—"Well, it is just a court."—"Do you understand what it means?"—"Whatever it is, two feet and eight inches is enough for it."

That was the character of the opposition to the tenement-house law. We succeeded in getting it through on the very last night of the session, with just the requisite number of votes.

Governor Murphy appointed his board that night and it began its official existence on the first of May following. We started out with the intention of obtaining an actual physical census of all tenement houses in the state, starting as near as we could at the center of each of the larger cities and continuing in a constantly widening circle. At the present time we have a record of 48,642 tenement houses which were in existence at the time the tenement-house law went into effect.

Just outside of Newark there is a pretty little municipality, Nutley, in which there is not the slighest necessity for tenement houses. In one section of Nutley there was a thrifty German who had a triangular tract of land fronting on two sides on a road. He lived on one corner of that himself, and cultivated the greater part of it for garden truck, which he sold in Nutley and the village of Franklin, employing a dozen men. It did not appear to him to be good business to pay these fellows wages on his farm and have them go to Nutley and pay rent, so he conceived

the idea of building a tenement house on his tract. He came to the office—somebody told him he must submit plans to the department—and showed plans for a four-story brick building for twelve families. There was no lack of light and air, as he had six or eight acres around the house, but there was no plumbing,—not a bit from top to bottom. I asked him where his water supply was to come from and he said a well in the yard. Then I asked him, "Where is your water closet?"—"Over here." The level of the water closet was some ten or twelve feet higher than the water in the well. I said that he could not do that, that he must put the water closet in the house. He said that was easy enough. So he went away and came back again with the plans. I looked at them and explained that he conld not do what the plan showed; that he must trap every one of the fixtures and he asked why. I said, "Don't you know that that is a standing invitation for gas to escape all over your house?" And he said, "What's the difference? Nobody but Italians will live there."

As for our old buildings, I have seen a great many of the tenement houses in New York and many in New Jersey, and there is nothing you have seen in New York that you cannot see in New Jersey. We have all the evils and more. The work of removing the evils in existing tenement houses is about as difficult in New Jersey as it is in New York.

In case of violations, or in case of refusal to comply with regulations we notify the owner that such violations are found existing and that they are contrary to law. We give him ten days to think it over. If the violations are not removed, we send him an order directing the removal, and if they are not removed, we are done until we get the case into court. We have to sue through the attorney general of the state, and sometimes it is several months before we can get the case into the courts, so that our method of dealing with people who refuse to comply with the law is rather cumbersome. Every year we have tried to get a way out of that, but we have been unable to get anything new, because we do not dare to let down the bars while we have good provisions in the law, for fear of having some bad features introduced.

The trouble we have in New Jersey is the difficulty of doing the work with only 22 inspectors to cover the entire state. That means looking after the construction of new buildings, removing violations on old buildings, keeping up our census of existing houses and taking care of all complaints, of which last year we had over 1200 from different parts of the state. All that must be done with 22 inspectors. The increasing of our force must be done through the legislature, and every year for the last six years we have asked for more inspectors, but without success.

DISCUSSION

SANITARY INSPECTION

By EDWARD T. HARTMAN

MR. LAWRENCE VEILLER presiding

Tuesday evening, June 6, at 8:15 o'clock

DR. GUY L. KIEFER, Health Commissioner, Detroit:

I have been much interested in the paper on sanitary inspection presented by Mr. Hartman, of Boston. The first point he brought out, about paying more attention to the inspection of houses after they are built,—in other words, reinspecting them and keeping track of them, is a good one, and one that has not been brought out before. One of the things I am going to take home and try to verify is the relation between prevalent sickness in the city and these housing conditions which we have talked so much about, and I am going to try to get something definite on that relation.

Mr. Hartman also brought out the point that it is necessary to have an inspection of houses, which of themselves, as I understood him to say, may be sufficiently good and sanitary if used rightly, but which are overcrowded.

There are things that have come to me that I want to take home and try to practise, and one of them is this house census. If we can get a list of the houses and conditions in the houses, good or bad, which is a big undertaking, and know what every house is in our city, we have something to start on so as to show the community the need for inspection. That seems to me the most practical point brought out in the entire conference. I said on another occasion that we public officials do know the conditions. We think we do. I know where a good many unsanitary houses are in Detroit. There are parts where some bad spots exist, and we know where these are, and yet we do not know so much as we should. What we want is a complete card catalog of the city, so that we can say, "That is what it was two years ago and this is what it is now."

Another confession I want to make is this, and that has come about as the result of these meetings. I am converted on the matter of laws. I did not think it necessary to have anything except general laws, but I think now that it is a good thing to have some specific laws on the subject. I was converted last night when Mr. O'Brien spoke and showed how attorneys look at it whenever they find something definite to take hold of.

I want to say just a word again about the necessity for the campaign of education. It should be emphasized for the purpose of bringing about coöperation,—coöperation first between city officials. If the people understood the problem better, if they knew what was needed, we should get better coöperation through the city officials, and I refer to such officials as the attorney, for instance, that is to take charge of the cases,—in our city, the corporation counsel. Here is one instance. I was much worried about our water supply becoming contaminated, because there was an open sewer in the shape of a creek, emptying into the water supply just above the intake. The village there had put in a sewer system and was going to empty its sewage directly into the intake. I went to the corporation counsel and asked to have the village enjoined. He said, "What makes you get excited about it? That is nothing but a surface drain." I said, "We shall have to find out." He said, "You will have to show me they are going to put actual sewage in there." I had inspectors go up there and they found water closets connected with new sewers, and we reported. Then he said, "Show me that that goes into the creek." We did that and he said, "Show me where that goes into the Detroit River." We did that and he said, "Now, show me where that goes into your water supply. Perhaps you do not get the pollution; there is plenty of water there." I came to the conclusion that it would be necessary for me to show him a given germ that was labeled as having been found by a post-mortem examination of somebody that had died in Detroit before I could convince him. We need education to get the coöperation of the officials first of all and to get the people wanting things; then we shall all work together and accomplish something.

As to the possibility of sanitary inspection work, without

public sentiment, without this primary educational campaign, let us see how it would work out. I have spoken about our lack of inspectors to work out our various problems, but I cannot help telling you in this connection how small the number really is. We have one sanitary engineer in charge of the plumbing and sanitary department. We have six plumbing inspectors, one special sanitary inspector and three police officers who do sanitary work; this for a city of 467,000 population. Now why have we six plumbing inspectors? Because people have been more afraid of unsanitary plumbing than of bad housing. They have been afraid of sewer air and sewer gas, as they call it, in the houses, but they have not been afraid of impure air from other causes; that is why we have six times as many men to look after plumbing as we have for the purpose of looking after all the other unsanitary conditions that have been spoken of in this conference.

Dr. Beatty, of Pittsburgh, said he believed in education, but he said, "Have your inspectors educated." I think it is worth while, if you have the kind of helpers I am going to speak of. For instance, we have skilled nurses, to look after babies in the summer time, and tuberculosis nurses. While I do not want to make sanitary inspectors of nurses, they might look up these unsanitary conditions in the houses that they visit while they are doing their work and call the attention of the people to the fact that they cannot do their work properly unless more attention is paid to housing. We always have them do that in a simple way when they make their visits for other purposes. A good way of getting public sentiment aroused is to look for the coöperation of the various societies that do work along this line. I refer not only to the housing commission, but to the various charity associations,—to the tuberculosis society, for example, the associated charities and various other charities, the visiting nurse association and societies of that kind. When you think of the result of the campaign that has been waged against tuberculosis,—when, for example, in Detroit you could get up at five o'clock in the morning or walk around until twelve o'clock any winter night and not see a single window open, while now you seldom see one closed,—you can see the result of the

campaign for fresh air and outdoor air during sleeping hours. The same thing can be done by getting the coöperation of various societies on the housing problems of to-day.

I want to touch on something that Mr. Hartman did not deal with, referring to another suggestion offered in this conference. The best suggestion that has been made with regard to rubbish and unsanitary conditions which require inspection in alleys, is the removal of the alley fence.

As soon as people demand better public health officials they will get better officials. It is not the fault of the various institutions of learning. Several of the larger universities—the University of Michigan and some others—have introduced or are introducing a course which will lead to a degree of doctor of public health. The recipient of that degree will be required to have knowledge along several lines, medicine, public health and engineering, which will make him efficient in carrying out the requirements and duties of the position. There will be another result particularly as regards health officials in smaller cities. When practical men are demanded who understand the various difficulties of the position they will be paid something for their knowledge and for the performance of the duties of the office. You cannot expect to get a specially trained man, not only a physician, but one who has technical knowledge beside that of the physician, to serve his community and do a health officer's work for $150 a year, which is expected often to-day.

WM. H. ABBOTT, First Deputy Tenement House Commissioner, New York City:

Sanitary inspection is merely putting into practise the science that treats of special measures for the preservation of health and the prevention of disease.

The method employed is dependent largely upon two issues, namely, the amount of money available for the work, and the size of the territory to which one's energies are to be devoted.

Let me start by telling you that the tenement-house department has a vast territory to cover, some 325 square miles. The amount of money appropriated to this important work during the current year was $820,412.50, equal to about one-half of one per cent of the entire city budget.

The tenement-house law was enacted early in the year 1901, having as its object the better housing of the poorer classes, by making their homes more nearly fireproof, arranging their living rooms so as to permit sunlight to enter, providing better escape from the building in case of fire, and making a systematic examination of the sanitary conditions surrounding the lives of this vast number of people.

The average person does not realize the serious obligations that devolve upon the tenement dweller, obligations both to himself and to his neighbor, but I feel sure that these obligations will sooner or later become part of the education of every school-child whether of foreign or of American birth.

There are in New York city some 103,860 tenement houses, and the inspectors are required by the Greater New York charter to visit monthly each tenement house having a monthly rental of $25 or less, and those of a higher rental as often as possible. The city budget allows the commissioner to appoint (through civil service) 280 inspectors, who are required to oversee the construction of new-law tenements, as well as to remedy the defective conditions, arising from bad plumbing, dark interior rooms, ill-ventilated public halls and inadequate toilet accommodations, found in the existing old-law tenements.

As the topic under consideration is sanitary inspection, we will not try to follow the new-building inspector, but will devote our whole time to finding out how thoroughly the old-building inspector does his work.

There are many causes that take inspectors to buildings; the most important, perhaps, are the complaints. These are received sometimes over the telephone, sometimes on postal cards, usually in letter form, not infrequently written in red ink as a threat. It matters not whether they are anonymous, whether from a party interested or whether for spite, the inspector is sent to the building, and if he finds the "cause for complaint" existing, he writes the particulars on a card, properly signed and dated, and reports a violation of the particular section of the law that is being violated.

Another cause for a visit to the house is what we term an initial inspection. The inspector is passing through his district,

and while attending to his work, he notices in an adjoining yard an unsanitary condition. He thereupon files a report of what he finds and leaves it along with his other work at the office the following morning.

The most satisfactory cause (from the department's standpoint), however, is the periodic inspection. On these trips each inspector is handed a skeleton card on which are printed certain words, referring to every conceivable subject in and around the building that may become defective; his answers to these are either a check mark or an explanatory note. By this means the house, yard, and very often other buildings upon the premises, which are not tenements, get a thorough examination from the sanitary squad, and when I mention that the points of interest to the inspector begin with the roof, whether it is free from rubbish, and in good repair, and continue down to the yard, taking in the water supply, flushing apparatus of the water closets, all the cast iron and lead pipes, as well as the plumbing fixtures, the cleanliness of the public halls and stairs, and the disinfection of any room or parts of the building needing it, I am sure you will agree with me that the building that is free from violations after such a test is a place in which our families may live without fear of contracting any very serious disease from unsanitary conditions. The periodic inspections, or cycles, are made at least twice a year, and in addition to them the inspector is required to make four cycle reinspections.

In order that the inspector may not succumb to the temptations that unfortunately exist, the department has found it wise to control the situation from the office. I mean by that, the inspector is required merely to use his eyes, nose and ears. He visits the buildings, and reports to the office what he finds. We do not allow him to have any intercourse with the owner.

The office has prepared a general order book touching on almost every part of a tenement that may become defective, or violate the law, and from this book a uniform order is issued to the owner in the outlying district, exactly the same as to the owner whose house is in the congested section of Manhattan.

We ask the owners to call and see us, and gladly explain to them anything they do not understand. If it develops that the

inspector has made a mistake in his report, and the conditions are not as he reported them, charges are brought against the inspector for making false and misleading reports, and he is punished accordingly. From time to time the supervisor visits the premises that one of his men examined the previous day, and if he finds the conditions not properly taken care of, the inspector gets into trouble. There is also another check on the inspector, namely, his daily route slip. On this slip is written every day a list of places he is expected to visit; there is a space on the slip where he must write in the time of day as he leaves each building.

In mentioning briefly the wonderful power behind the department to compel owners to comply with the law, I must not forget to tell you of our three most effective weapons: (1) the assistance of the corporation counsel in prosecuting through civil action delinquent or stubborn owners, and finally collecting a penalty; (2) the police-court summons action, in which the department through the corporation counsel commences a criminal action; and (3) by no means the least effective, the actual vacation of the building in which unsanitary conditions exist. This last is by far the most drastic action the department can take, as the owner, as soon as he finds himself without income, comes to his senses and promptly complies with the orders, so that he may get the tenants back into the building.

There is no doubt that many of the violations against buildings are caused by the tenants' allowing plumbing fixtures to overflow and saturate the plaster and woodwork of floors below, or using their bath tubs as coal bins, or washing their cinders in the kitchen sink, thereby causing obstructions to the waste lines and making it necessary to hire a plumber to relieve the conditions. The law permits the department to charge up an obstruction of a fire escape to the tenant whose apartment immediately adjoins it and by this means we do actually punish the guilty person.

If it were possible to handle other conditions similarly, the extreme annoyance experienced by owners in receiving orders for which tenants should be held responsible would in large part disappear and a far better feeling between the department and the property owner would result.

In summing up, I believe I am justified in saying that the system employed in examining the sanitary conditions of tenement houses in this city cannot be improved upon, and that the health of the community has been greatly benefited by our persistent efforts in cleaning up the homes of the three and one-quarter million people coming under our care.

MR. BALL:

I do not want the statement made in respect to the civil-service method for the appointment of sanitary inspectors to go uncontroverted. It may be that we can discover some better method, but at the present time we have none. I believe there are in this room some good proofs of the principles of civil-service methods as applied to sanitary inspectors. In Chicago, three years ago, I set the questions for about 364 inspectors, of whom 42 passed and got on the eligible list. Last year we had 152 candidates, of whom 17 passed. I think those two examinations, apart from others of which I have some knowledge, have proved very desirable and in the main satisfactory methods of selecting civil-service inspectors. There may be some better way, but we do not yet know what it is.

MR. VEILLER:

Is there any further discussion on this subject? If not, I will declare the conference closed, and say on behalf of the National Housing Association that it has been a great privilege for that organization to welcome here so many delegates from so many parts of the country, and to benefit by the experience and knowledge that you have brought to the discussion of these problems. We hope to meet again at some time and place to be decided upon by the board of directors.

FIRST ROUND TABLE LUNCHEON

MR. VEILLER presiding

Monday, June 5, at 1 o'clock

MR. VEILLER:

I am sorry to interfere with your pleasure in conversation, but if we are to have the discussion that I hope we shall, we must begin almost before we begin lunch. I now call upon Dr. Kiefer, of Detroit. The speakers will be limited to three minutes.

DR. KIEFER:

I can tell my story in about one minute. In Detroit there has not been much attention paid to the housing problem, as such, until recently. We have always paid some attention to plumbing. There has been an organized sanitary and plumbing department in Detroit for twelve or fifteen years, and I think it is quite an efficient department. Much work has been done in looking after plumbing in new buildings as well as unsanitary conditions in old ones. But the house problem proper in Detroit is in the shape of old houses formerly occupied by one family which are now being turned over in each case to a number of families. We have a new building code which will take care of some of the conditions in the future, but we have no specific law as to tenements such as has been discussed in this convention. We have general jurisdiction over tenements under our board of health law, which gives us the right to forbid unsanitary conditions. For example, this morning we saw some dark-room conditions here and we saw some that had been corrected. We saw how, under the tenement law here, they had put in a certain amount of glass to bring light from the front or the rear. We have no specific regulation like that in Detroit, but if we found such conditions we would say, "You have got to take that wall out." If the owners did not do so we would go to court with them, and if we could find the kind of

judge who agreed with us as to the unsanitary condition, they would be forced to make correction. That is what I meant when I said the other day that the whole problem to me is a problem of education. If we can get the public sentiment back of us so as to enable us to get a sufficient number of inspectors, we can do the work.

We have at the present time only one sanitary inspector beside the six plumbing inspectors, to look after the condition of plumbing in the old and new houses. We boast of having nearly 500,000 inhabitants. I asked for an extra sanitary inspector for the coming year, and I got him at last. We have done some work and we hope to do more. We now have a housing commission in Detroit, and if they will help us to make sufficient noise so that people will recognize the necessity for this work, I am sure we shall progress much more rapidly than we have done in the past.

MR. MARANI:

The first thing we took up when I was appointed building inspector was the recodification of the law and the making of a building code proper. In connection with that the question of the improvement of the tenement-house section was drawn to our attention by the chamber of commerce of Cleveland, which has done much towards urging the administration to do what is right, and has also helped me in achieving some success in this direction. The tenement section of the code, which has been written in my department, is practically in accordance with Mr. Veiller's book, *The Tenement House Law*. We have added a little to it, but not much. We are like all other building departments, enforcing a $32,000 code with a $10 organization.

MR. BALL:

It seems to me the things we are not doing in Chicago are so much greater than the things we are doing, that we have not much to say for ourselves. Those of you who know Chicago will probably characterize it as being a city of great untidiness. We should like to have you come and see that untidiness when it is cured. The only thing that I have against Pittsburgh is that Mr. Beatty is not willing to have people come and see him.

He says, "Come in a couple of years and we will show you what happened." We are glad to have you come to Chicago now. Things are moving there. Our tenement-house law was passed nine years ago. The principal defect was that it was modeled too closely on the New York law of 1901. For example, that law allows the construction of alcove rooms, or did for a year until they found out that they were bad. They cut it out of the New York law, but we kept on in Chicago for seven years, so that we have more alcove rooms in Chicago than we ought to have. We have re-framed our ordinance lately; we have not the advanced results that we ought to get, but we have moved somewhat. We have increased the minimum-size room from seventy to eighty square feet, and I do not think there will be any difficulty in getting eighty-foot rooms. The greatest thing we are doing in Chicago, in comparison with other cities, is in the number of stories. We have not built in ten years half a dozen tenement buildings more than three stories high. We build only three stories high, and the fire limitations which are imposed on a seven-story building in New York city, we have imposed on a four-story building for ten years past. It seems to me that is a lesson for Cincinnati, Cleveland, Detroit and a few other cities; they do not need to build higher than that.

Something has been done by the School of Civics and Philanthropy. We do not know our conditions in Chicago, and one of the principal things that ought to appeal to every one interested in housing conditions is to find out the facts. We do not know how many tenements there are in Chicago. I do not believe you know how many there are in your own city, and if you can learn that, it is worth while.

HON. JOHN J. MURPHY, Commissioner, Tenement House Department, New York City:

I have taken a certain amount of pride in the fact that I am the one tenement-house commissioner in the world. I believe that I am individually and officially unique, and the amount of attention which has been paid to the question in New York I presume exceeds that of any other community in the world.

How big the question is growing any one who looked into the reports of the international conference at Vienna last year must have seen. I recently sent to twenty-five of the leading cities in Europe for copies of their building and housing regulations, their sanitary regulations, and all their rules in regard to fire prevention. I am having those books catalogued and indexed now so that we may be able to form some estimate as to what is being done abroad as compared with what is being done in the city of New York.

The one thing that I should like to dwell upon, and that most emphatically, is the importance of concentration of the work of tenement supervision in a single department. If New York city, from being a horrible example, can claim even to approach to being a shining exemplar to-day, it is because the whole work of tenement-house supervision was concentrated in a single department, comprising the powers of the police department, the health department, the bureau of buildings and the fire department in relation to tenement houses. This concentration of responsibility is, it seems to me, fundamental in working out a proper regulation of tenements in any city. I presume that no city in America has to any extent taken up the problem from the affirmative side. As you know, most of the recent conferences abroad are taken up with questions of philanthropic or municipal benevolence, attempts to solve the problem of insufficient housing either by philanthropic expenditures or municipal housing. These things we have not had to handle in America yet, and therefore our work is more largely critical than constructive, but whatever line we follow, I believe its success must come through recognition of the fact that the powers of the various municipal departments affecting tenement houses should be gathered together under one head, under one direction, and made as concentrated as possible, in order that there may be no possibility of escaping responsibility for bad conditions.

MR. THOMAS JORDAN, Health Department, Boston:

We are rather handicapped in Boston for this reason: when the present building law of Boston was filed, almost all the health laws were put under the building-law code, so that there

is more or less friction in regard to the enforcement of the law, and like most of the other large cities, we do not get sufficient appropriations to carry on the work. We have, at the present time, twenty inspectors, and five police officers. This year we have had a bill before the legislature to increase the number of police officers. Though the bill has been passed, the officers have not yet been assigned to the department, I presume on account of lack of appropriation.

We had a bill put in, making the tenement house in Boston and Massachusets a three-family house. That bill was defeated largely on account of the building law. The four-family house must be of fireproof construction. When our bill was put into the legislature by the law department, the legal mind who put it in merely changed the word from three to four in the present building code, which made the construction of that sort of building in the outlying districts almost impossible, so the bill was defeated.

We had another bill put in on overcrowding. At the present time the only method we have to restrict overcrowding is to visit the premises and measure the rooms, and where we find the rooms overcrowded, stencil the wall with the number of occupants allowed. If the restrictions are not complied with, we then vacate the premises. This has turned out to be continuous work, as the people engaged in keeping these cheap lodging houses move from place to place. This year we have driven one woman who has been in the business a good many years, from five different locations. We have not found her in the sixth yet, though I have no doubt she is there at the present time. We had a bill making this a criminal offense. The chairman of the board and I appeared before the committee and there was no opposition. In a few weeks we read that the bill was withdrawn. We saw some of the members of the committee, and one of the senators said that they would have the bill reported out. We did not hear from him for two weeks and I called him up. He said the committee would like to go out and see the conditions in the city. They found the conditions worse than they had anticipated, so the bill was reported out, but has not been voted on.

MR. JAMES A. RATH, Honolulu:

One would suppose that with an island of 498 square miles to spread over there would be no need of tenements, but we have them: frame tenements, with people living under the street level, with absolutely no ventilation, though it is needed even more in a sub-tropical climate than in the climate that you have on the mainland. We have no tenement-house law; in fact we have no building law, except a very general one. Studies have been made, however, and as a result of the work of some reformers and Dr. Pratt, of the board of health, who is conversant with conditions there, the last legislature appropriated some $270,000 to fill in some of our lowlands and to erect suitable buildings for the working classes. The board of health has come out plainly against the tenement, advocating the cottage system. In a warm climate it is almost impossible to build suitable tenements; so the cottage system has been advocated, and I am glad to say that many of our philanthropic men are taking it up and erecting small cottages for families of workmen, renting them as low as $5 and $6 a month. These cottages consist of three rooms and a separate bath.

We still have a great deal to do. Our cholera epidemic, which came three months ago, was a blessing in disguise. It really awoke the authorities. We have had a dual system of control, and there was a conflict of authority between the county authorities and the territorial authorities in Honolulu. Between the two stools we nearly fell to the ground. When this cholera epidemic came we lost about thirty people, and as the territorial legislature happened to be in session, the old laws were either amended or superseded by new laws. So to-day the territorial board of health has the supreme voice in all health matters, particularly in regard to buildings.

A new building law is being enacted, much along the lines of some of the states, but, of course, adapted to a sub-tropical climate. So, while we have serious conditions, I am glad to say that we are more hopeful of solving them than we were six months ago.

PROF. IRVING FISHER, Yale University, New Haven:

I do not know whether the chairman meant to be sarcastic, or whether it was a slip of the tongue or the pen, when he said that I have shown you how to *shorten* life. I cannot say that in New Haven we have made great progress in improving tenement-house conditions. This is largely because of the influx of foreign immigration there, an element which has brought up the tenement problem everywhere.

Eight years ago my colleague, Professor Bailey, enlightened us as to the prevalence of dark rooms and bad tenements generally. About four years ago my colleague, Professor Farnam, with the coöperation of the chairman, Mr. Veiller, succeeded in getting through our state legislature a tenement law which, though not so perfect as we should like, is an improvement on anything that the state had had before. We are hoping to secure still further improvement through the enactment of certain amendments which are now under consideration and are being advocated by certain civic bodies in New Haven. Those amendments will provide for better fire protection, abolishing wooden fire escapes, for instance, and will give more room inside and outside of the tenement.

If it is in order, I should like to say a few words on the tenement problem in general, rather than on New Haven's problem in particular, because as a matter of fact, it does not seem to me that it is a local problem but a general problem, due to immigration. One of the delegates remarked this morning: "In small western towns we have precisely the same problems arising as in New York city. This shows that the dark-room evil, for instance, is not due to the overcrowding on the narrow strip of Manhattan Island, but can show itself in small towns in the West, where land is relatively cheap."

It seems to me that the essential nature of the problem is not what it was originally taken to be. The economic demand on the part of the foreign population is for a different standard of housing from that which you and I think is the correct standard, and the tenement problem is really the problem of the better class of the community trying to impose their standards on the

poorer and more ignorant class of the community. It seems to me, therefore, we shall never get any final results in this tenement problem until we go beyond the stage of legislation and of the better execution of laws. We must create a demand upon the part of the immigrants in this country for something better than one-room tenements, and when they recognize that it would be better to live in a pest-house than in a dark one-room tenement, they will not pay rent for dark rooms.

This morning we saw two four-room tenements, one good and one bad, for practically the same rental. Why was this? Because the working people do not recognize the difference in the conditions; that is, ignorance plays a part as well as poverty. I am therefore heartily in favor of those who on Saturday recommended a thorough campaign of education. That must be slow. We must have enforcement of the law; we must have better laws and more appropriations first; but in order to get on a stable basis, we must tell the people what the standards of living are. And in that connection we must improve our own standards. When one class of the community attempts to enforce its standards on the other members of the community, it must be sure of its ground. An attempt to solve the one-room problem by cutting a window so as to let in light is a delusion and a snare; it is not going to prevent tuberculosis or kill many germs or produce any material improvement in decency. Also, when we say that there must be a certain cubic space of air for the individual to breathe, we are on the wrong track. What we want is active ventilation. The small room with the same cubic capacity, without a window, but with a door on either side, will be far more effective. As we saw in one of the remodeled tenements extending through from the front to the rear, the real virtue of the middle room is that it has a window on each side, making a draft.

But we do not yet know the standards of air purity. There is a whole field of standardization which ought to be studied. That feature of the discussion was omitted on Saturday, but I hope before the conference adjourns methods of obtaining proper standards of air purity for housing will be discussed. That is a problem for scientists, and I hope that this conference

will get the coöperation of people who can study the problem from that side.

MR. MAGRUDER:

Baltimore has just reached the culmination of the agitation that has been going on for more than sixty years, resulting in the installation of a sanitary sewer system, a double system, one for storm water, and one for the city sewage. It is to cost $20,000,000, and that means the beginning of the end of the village system that has been in use in the city for more than a century; and it means that by the end of 1914, under the provisions of the enabling act, 67,000 earth closets will be entirely superseded; they are not only to be abandoned, but to be filled up with pure earth. This means that the tour of inspection which we have just finished this morning, is one that is of vital consequence to the Baltimoreans who are here. We have no such tenements as abound in the city of New York. We have no dumb-bell tenements. I do not think we have a single tenement that is more than five stories high. But we have conditions in houses which do not come within the definition of tenements, and which constitute the great majority of the dwellings in Baltimore, and those conditions are just as intolerable as the conditions that obtain in dwellings which do come under the head of tenements.

The basic improvement is the establishment of the new sewer system, and that will affect every piece of property and every dwelling within the corporate limits of the city, and not merely the tenements. In addition, we have a new housing code which has been in effect for a little less than three years. It has standardized the conditions of living to some degree, although it is by no means perfect. As a result of the housing code, whereas we had no inspectors of housing at all up to a year and a half ago, we now have three inspectors with another twenty-five to be added as soon as possible. The chief of the three inspectors, who is present at this conference, has just informed me that there are now listed in the neighborhood of 3,000 tenements, by which in Baltimore we mean houses containing three or more families. The index cards include details of informa-

tion in regard to these tenements as drawn up according to a fixed schedule. You can see, therefore, that we have gone only so far in the city of Baltimore as to lay a fairly good and broad foundation. We have practically everything yet to do.

MR. J. HAL LYNCH, Housing Committee, Civic League, St. Louis:

In St. Louis a year ago, during the meeting of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, we attempted to show some of our visitors our worst housing conditions. Mr. Veiller and others said that we had some of the worst housing conditions that they had ever seen. Some of these conditions still prevail, but they are not common in our city. A small district which is our Ghetto is in a bad state, but most of the city is in good condition so far as the homes are concerned.

Five years ago there was no building code covering the construction of tenements in any way. The code we have at the present time is a little over three years old. As a building code it is excellent, providing in a fair way for all the necessary sanitary conditions. It is difficult to construct a frame building in our city. Almost every building is required to be brick and we are not allowed to build less than a 13-inch wall in a two-story house. It is contrary to law to use a 9-inch wall except in a small one-story building. Our difficulty has been to pass a retroactive law covering the old conditions. We have been fighting strenuously along this line for four years, but have not, so far, been able to accomplish anything. It has been impossible to pass such laws, and therefore we still have about 12,000 privy vaults in the city. We do not know whether we shall get rid of them soon or not—we hope to. We have gone so far in the matter as to have had at our public hearings in the city hall a gathering which was said to be a mob. The property owners of the district affected were so indignant at our attempt to pass a law doing away with their old vaults that they gathered in large numbers.

Our laws do not permit the building of a tenement house over three stories in height unless it is fireproof. Our fire-escape laws are good. We have no state law covering tenement construction

or building in any way except a fire-escape law. We have a law compelling grocery stores, meat markets and similar places keeping food to screen everything and protect the food. This last year we attempted to pass a law permitting the state board of health to regulate building throughout the state, by rules similar to the laws of Indiana, but we encountered violent opposition and met with defeat on that point, though we hope to do better next time.

MR. JOHN C. LOGAN, Secretary Associated Charities, Atlanta:

We at least have the advantage of thinking we are going to be a big city, and have the housing problem in mind. I was much struck by the remarks of Professor Fisher concerning the standard of living, which is really down at the bottom of this problem, at least as it is with us. We have few dark or airless rooms except those in cellars, and there are few such cellars occupied. But we have a great many small houses in various sections of the city, many of them on alleys in good residential parts of the city, mostly occupied by negroes.

An ordinance was recently passed requiring the laying of water mains and sewers in these alleys, but it seems that the law is not capable of enforcement. The board of health, by securing the passage of the law, shows that it is alive to that problem. I heard one of our directors say that he thought the problem of raising the housing standard of the negro population one of the most important of this day and time. They are making enough money to live comfortably in better quarters, and are simply working less time. The employers, therefore, are feeling this problem in an indirect way.

Last year, the building department secured the passage of a new building law which was based almost entirely on the fire underwriters' code. We attempted to sneak in the more modest provisions of Mr. Veiller's model law, so that we might have no more apartment houses or tenement houses built of wood. The building department, however, had a great many jokers in their own code, and they thought, "If we lengthen the code, the council possibly may read it," while as it stood it might pass without sufficient scrutiny to raise any opposition

whatever. Their estimate of the situation proved to be correct, because there was no fight made on the fire-escape law until after the passage of this ordinance.

MR. ELMER S. FORBES, Housing Committee, Massachusetts Civic League, Boston:

It is not quite true that we have been stirring up all the cities and towns in Massachusetts, but we have been trying to do something. Conferences like this are common, where we gather from all parts of the country to discuss our own problems, but we have been experimenting with conferences of a different sort. The cities have the experts and so they have the advice at hand when they wish to deal with their own troubles. The smaller towns do not have this advantage, and to overcome this handicap in a measure, we have held conferences in a number of places in New England and have asked people to come from the outside to tell them how they can meet the difficulties which they are facing. Several of these have been held in Massachusetts and they have been successful.

They have roused public opinion. They have made citizens see abuses which they had not seen before and have pointed the way to the removal of some of them; at any rate, the people have learned something of the ways in which the larger communities are at work. I think it is an important movement, and it is certainly one of the ways in which the education of the smaller towns may be successfully carried forward.

MR. FEISS:

I believe that Mr. Veiller's work is the most valuable that is being done definitely on a national scale in the country, because he is bringing to us the kind of assistance which we want, and bringing it in concrete form.

We, in Cleveland, are having the same trouble that you are having in the older communities, namely, we are so busy safeguarding individual and property rights that we are forgetting common human rights. The work that the chamber of commerce through its housing committee has been doing has been particularly in connection with the health board and the building

inspector's office. I hope eventually we can have our own tenement-house commission in the city, and perhaps when our new state code, which is to come up for discussion at the next session, is adopted, we may be able to have this power granted to the cities. Primarily, what we did was to get a law from the state enabling the cities to have their own building codes. Following that, the city of Cleveland engaged an expert to write a code, which is undoubtedly good; in fact it is so good that it is very difficult to keep pace with it, and it has got to be brought down within the power of human possibilities to enforce. The next step we took was to have a statute put on the books enabling us to take care of buildings already in existence. This is going to be enforced through the health board. We shall have, therefore, both a building inspector's office and a health board working at the house problem. This is not an ideal condition, for I believe that the health board should have the sole power; but it was the best we could do under the circumstances. The health board has assigned to it three people for inspection, for supervision of inspection and for the watching of records. We hope to have three or four more inspectors of tenements and housing within the next month.

The building department's code is ready—as soon as it has the O. K. of Mr. Veiller. As soon as that code has been definitely completed by such of us as are working at it, it is ready to go before the city council, and we hope within sixty days to have it ready for operation. I think that is our work in Cleveland up to to-day.

MR. VEILLER:

One thing that the speaker did not mention is this: The chamber of commerce and the big business men of the community are spending most of their time and money doing educational and philanthropic work for the city of Cleveland. When they get together for their meetings, it is 90 per cent those things and about 10 per cent business propositions, as we ordinarily understand the word. They have been successful because they have been modest; they have been willing always to sink their personality; they have never sought credit, glory

or advertisement, but have always pushed to the front the public official who may have been aiding. It seems to me that is a lesson for the whole country.

MRS. GRAY:

We succeeded in getting through our tenement-house law in Kentucky by catching the legislators asleep. The only people who woke up to it were two property owners who lived in Cincinnati. They came down to oppose it, but we got them out of the way. The law calls for a tenement-house inspector, but the city has not appointed one. They say, "Let the inspectors who are already in the health office do that work." The health office has six sanitary inspectors to do the sanitary inspection for the city, and the chief health officer does not seem to think that is enough to get around; it probably is not, although I do not think they work as hard as they could. The only part of our laws enforced is that in regard to new buildings. I believe we have stopped the building of bad tenement houses. We have the alley problem in the city, and we have the negro problem. The great trouble in Louisville is not so much the lack of air as the dilapidation of buildings. Nobody makes any repairs, and the whole theory seems to be to allow the building to go to ruin as badly as it will, and when white people will no longer live in it, let it to colored people. But while the standards of the greater part of our negro population are low, I do not think it fair to regard them as hopeless without giving them a chance. Personally, I believe their standards can readily be raised with a little impetus and oversight from the white people. The living conditions under which the the negro children have been and are being brought up are bad enough to account for any deficiencies at present, but some day the white population will awake to the menace which the disease-ridden products of these unspeakable negro tenements are to the community, and then the theory that "anything is good enough for the negro" will have to go.

MR. HANSON:

Youngstown is half-way between Cleveland and Pittsburgh.

It is not necessary to locate it out in our country, but I suppose it may be here. We have about the same type of people living there that they have in Pittsburgh because we belong to the Pittsburgh district, so-called. We are an iron and steel manufacturing city, so that our population is something like 67 per cent foreign born including almost all nationalities. The city has increased about 78 per cent in population during the last decade, and the building operations do not keep up with this growth of population. The result is, of course, that a large number of buildings are overcrowded, particularly the former good residences in the downtown district which become tenement houses, a usual condition in fast-growing cities of that type.

So, when the associated charities began work there a few years ago, we found that many of the problems were due to bad housing, and we at once began an agitation for improved conditions. Out of that agitation has grown a corporation which calls itself The Modern Homes Company, which was incorporated about a year and a half ago for $100,000 and has been doing work since, recently increasing its capital stock to $300,000. It now has six-family houses with a store and meat market to provide the tenants with provisions.

I should like to say a word in regard to the reference which has been made to the need of education of these tenants to higher standards. Last spring we began, in an experimental way, by holding three school-house meetings in rental districts. Eighty-six per cent of the people were renters, and largely foreigners. We had enthusiastic meetings in the school-house, and practically the whole evening was given over to short addresses along the line of the tenants' responsibility and the tenants' part in improving their condition. We had several speeches made in different languages, Polish, Hungarian and Slavic and we had committees appointed which offered prizes for the best improvements during the coming season, so we have begun a campaign of education which we feel sure is worth while, and which we will follow out during the coming year by holding these school-house meetings, perhaps once a month in these purely rental districts, and impressing upon the tenants the idea that much of the improvement rests with them and

must emanate from them. If they improve their houses and the others do the same, it does not make much difference if they move once in a while. They will still come into and share and profit by the efforts of others, while others will follow and profit by their efforts, and even things up.

Also, we are forming an association for a system of reporting upon tenants, which is part of a movement to force those who need coercion. This system will include reports upon the general character of the tenant, his reputation for caring for the property, and his reputation for paying his rent. We have already an organization effected which we think will put this upon an effective basis, enabling us to show to the tenants that it is worth while. The landlords tell us they think they can reduce rents ten per cent, if everyone will work on this matter of reporting the character of the tenants.

MISS EDITH ABBOTT, School of Civics and Philanthropy, Chicago:

Most of our investigation has been published already, in a series of articles in the American Journal of Sociology. We are trying hard to interest the people not already interested in the housing problem, and these articles have been so widely circulated in the form of reprints that it is not necessary to make a further report on them here. We have all ready for publication now the results of the study of a portion of Chicago, which was canvassed by a committee of the City Homes Association ten years ago, and we found in our re-canvass some interesting differences to note. For example, there has been a great improvement in sanitary conditions there, owing to the activity of Mr. Ball, who has been our chief sanitary inspector. We found, however, that overcrowding is worse, and that dilapidation in general has increased.

In these so-called "river wards" in Chicago, we have a large territory which is said to be awaiting a business invasion. When we make any complaint about the condition of the houses there, we are always told that that territory is to be taken over for the use of factories and railroads and that it is therefore not worth while to bother about housing conditions

there. In the meantime more people live there than in any other part of the city. The congestion per block and per acre is much greater there than anywhere else; and as our recent canvass shows, in spite of the fact that more factories are building there and more property is being taken over for business and commercial purposes, more people are continuing to crowd into the old houses than have been there at any other time.

I have to report, to the shame of Chicago, that although we have one of the best sanitary inspectors in the country, a man whom it is a pleasure to find more appreciated here in New York than by our Chicago aldermen, we have not come to the point where we are willing to give him a proper appropriation to do the effective and intelligent work that he is capable of doing. It would be a pleasure to report at the next National Housing Conference that we had given Mr. Ball an adequate number of tenement-house inspectors and given him an opportunity to do his work properly.

I should like to say one word about the relation of the immigrant to the housing problem. I do not wish to contradict anything that Professor Fisher or anyone else has said; but out of my experience as a resident of Hull-House and a member of a district charity committee, I have come to believe that the immigrant is not so ignorant as we often give him credit for being. In Chicago, the one-room tenements are occupied not by immigrants, but by poor and shiftless American families.

Only last week a Hungarian woman came to Hull-House in bitter distress because everything was so dirty here. She had been here less than a year, and she said that in Hungary things were cleaner; here, she said the alleys were dirty and the streets were dirty, the halls of the tenement were dirty, the toilet rooms were dirty, and the same with other things over which the individual tenant had no control. She said she was not accustomed to such things at home. Sometime ago I found in a house on Liberty Street, where there had been a large number of cases of tuberculosis, a poor Russian Jew in the last stages of tuberculosis. He had been in this country less than two years, and his tale was a touching one. He said that before he came here, when he received letters in Russia from his friends

on Liberty Street, he pictured in imagination the beautiful place to which he was going; Liberty Street was a place of glory to him. He imagined a broad avenue with a figure or a statue of liberty, such as he had heard about; but instead he found Liberty Street one of the poorest and meanest streets in the Ghetto; the house and everything about it was dirty, and within two years he had contracted a case of incurable tuberculosis and was dying on Liberty Street.

Nor do I believe it to be true that good houses are as cheap as poor houses and that people live in miserable conditions because they do not care. I am on the committee of the Associated Charities, and I find we have difficulty in moving families out of bad rooms. In getting them into better apartments we have to count on a rent of $8 instead of $6, or $10 instead of $8. While I welcome any means of improving the condition of the tenements by "teaching the tenants," I do believe that the immigrants themselves feel very keenly the dirt, misery and discomfort under which they live.

DR. JAMES ROBERTS, Medical Health Officer, Hamilton, Ontario:

I am not here to depreciate conditions in my native city, because up to the present time we have not had the tenement-house problem. In the neighboring city of Toronto, with something like 350,000 or 400,000 people, I do not believe that they have a tenement-house problem. So that problem practically does not exist in the Dominion of Canada, except in the city of Montreal.

We have in Hamilton, I might tell you briefly, conditions such as Mr. Davis, of the city of Columbus, outlined. I mean conditions such as you find where there is a rapid influx of foreign population, with insufficient housing. We have two and three families crowded into one house, and it is for the purpose of finding out how best we can prevent such conditions that I have attended your conference. I might say that I am delighted with everything that I have heard, it is so practical. It sends one back feeling that there is a bond of sympathy between us. We go back with better hearts when we find out, as the lady who

has just taken her seat has said, that a gentleman of the activity of Mr. Ball is appreciated better away from home than he is at home. I suppose that is perhaps the case with Kiefer, and Goler, of Rochester, and a great many others, and it probably is the case, as Dr. Fronczak has said, that in a contest for the most unpopular man in our home town we should win hands down. When we find that out it gives us courage. We are not isolated individuals: a man fighting in his native town gets discouraged; when he attends a conference of this kind it strikes him that there are others in precisely the same condition, and it gives him heart and determination to keep on. As health officer for six years in the city of Hamilton, I have learned to believe that all the world loves a fighter, even when he is in the wrong, if he has the courage of his conviction.

My attendance of six years at meetings of the American public health associations, with what I have learned here, has shown me that the people of the United States are alive, as perhaps no other people of the world are alive, to the great evils that are growing up among them, and that they are attacking sociological problems in a manner to make them ultimately the leaders in the social regeneration of all the peoples of the world.

MR. CUTTER E. LOVEJOY, Secretary Housing Commission, Detroit:

I am glad to report that we in Detroit are all working together for the solution of the housing problem. A little more than a year ago Mr. Veiller was invited to come to Detroit to address a small group of citizens, largely members of the Detroit board of commerce, a body of public-spirited men who are doing the kind of work that I am told the Cleveland chamber of commerce is doing, largely along social and civic lines, with particular attention to commerce. Mr. Veiller's address made so profound an impression upon these gentlemen that they immediately asked him to suggest some plan of action. A housing commission was soon organized and about the first of October we began active work. The plan was to begin at once to find out what we had to do, to study carefully the situation before taking any serious steps, so that a good deal of

time has been spent in discovering our task, and yet along with that we have been making a little progress in active work.

One of our first duties was to consider a new building code, which was at that time before the city council and which has since been adopted. This code is thorough-going, and, so far as new buildings are concerned, quite complete. As respects the sanitation, improvement and maintenance of existing buildings, as well as any effective provision for the enforcement of law, I regard the new building code as seriously deficient. I have brought with me a copy of this ordinance, hoping to get an hour or two with Mr. Veiller, that we may go over the ground together. Detroit has had so moderate and yet so delightful a growth, up to the last ten or fifteen years of her history, that almost no building regulations have been required. Indeed there were no building regulations of any consequence, and I was told that it would be a hopeless search to look for the old building code which this new one supersedes. All I have been able to find, under the guidance of the city authorities, is a fugitive regulation here and there, scattered through the council proceedings. We gave such study to the building code as it was possible to do, comparing it with Mr. Veiller's model law, the New York law, and such other authorities as were available, and by the not unfriendly attitude of the city council we succeeded in getting through fifty-seven amendments to the code as originally proposed. I ought to add, too, that the original authors of the code generously welcomed these additions and heartily coöperated with us in securing their passage. Some of these amendments are of considerable consequence, and we have to our credit several additions and improvements in definition, a generous increase in minimum requirements for street, court and yard spaces, for ceiling heights and window openings, several added provisions for light and ventilation, and for protection or escape in case of fire. Our amendments completely rule out the cellar tenement, make better provision for family and personal privacy, and specify minimum toilet accommodations for families in tenements now existing. We also secured the insertion of a strong section on the enforcement of the law. And so, while the new law is far from ideal, from the

standpoint of the housing expert, it is a magnificent advance over the past, a great credit to its originators, and, we believe, a document much improved by the activities of the housing commission.

Early this spring considerable agitation began over the condition of the alleys. Detroit is possessed of more alleys than any other city of its size in the world. What in some cities would be called minor streets, from fifteen to thirty-five feet wide, are here called alleys. It was found that the alleys were being made the repository for ashes, refuse and rubbish of every conceivable sort. The alleys had come to be an eye-sore to the people of Detroit. Our city boasts of its beauty and of the fact that it is a good place in which to live. Avenues and boulevards are numerous and attractive, but in going about where the alleys could be seen it was discovered that they were in serious condition. It was our good fortune that a number of people became interested, about this time, in cleaning up the alleys—private citizens, officers of the board of health and others. We have an efficient health department which has, at least during the present administration, been active in trying to correct these evils. It fell to the lot of our commission to take a leading part in this alley-cleaning crusade, and a great deal of favorable publicity was given to our work by the daily papers, as the alleys had become the talk of the town, and the efforts we made to remedy their condition seemed to meet the approval of all classes. Not only that, but so much sentiment has been aroused in favor of clean alleys that it seems now as though our people would never be satisfied until some ordinance has been passed providing for the adequate and satisfactory care of alleys.

SECOND ROUND TABLE LUNCHEON

MR. VEILLER presiding

Tuesday, June 6, at 1 o'clock

Mr. HARTMAN:

We in Boston are in the hands of politicians. I do not know that this is interesting, or that it will help you to know what we are doing.

Our housing maintenance work is in the hands of our board of health, and our board of health is in the hands of our mayor, and our mayor is anti-social in practically every sense. He is more interested in building up his political machine than he is in promoting the development of men and women. For the last five years he has controlled the situation there, although there was an interim when he was not mayor.

We have a board of health of three doctors. One I might call an anthropological doctor. One was a veterinary surgeon, and later became a man doctor; and the last one is a horse doctor out and out. That has a peculiar significance when you know the inside. Our finance commission spoke to the mayor a short time ago and said that he ought to appoint a sanitary expert, because conditions in Boston were very unsanitary. He replied that he could not get one, that he had tried five or six and they all refused. To answer his argument some of us went to the commission and said we would get a man. The commission said it would not suggest one man alone, but that if we could get five or six to consent to serve if appointed it would present the names. Within five days we secured the names of six men, any one of whom would be anywhere recognized as an expert. Then the mayor appointed the veterinary surgeon.

MR. HOWARD STRONG, Assistant Secretary, Chamber of Commerce, Cleveland:

I have heard various delegates tell of their efforts to get city officials to do this, that or the other. We have a little different

situation in Cleveland, and I have been asked by two or three people to tell of it. With a few exceptions we have a little family affair in Cleveland. For instance, on our board of health, four out of six of the members during the past year either were at the time, or had been, members of our housing committee or of our committee on municipal sanitation, which is closely allied with it. The health officer, Dr. Ford, was appointed at the suggestion of members of our committee on municipal sanitation. The present head of our tenement division was appointed at the suggestion of our housing committee. The building department advisory commission includes as its chairman the vice-chairman of our housing committee. Mr. Marani, the building inspector, is a part of the inner circle and is a very close member of the family. The city solicitor, who will have charge of the prosecutions in this division, was formerly a member of our committee on municipal sanitation; he has offered to assign a prosecutor for this work, and there is no question that his instructions will be followed by the prosecutor, and will be correct. One of the police judges, before whom many cases will be tried, is a former member of our committee. At the end of this year he will be superseded, the police court judges will be succeeded by the municipal court, and those judges will try our violation cases. They will be elected under a law written by the chamber of commerce, and we shall have little difficulty in getting some attention from them.

The director of the charities and corrections of the city, Mr. Jackson, is at present a member of the housing committee, and some of the most influential members of the council are members of the chamber and are in sympathy with it. When the whole family decides upon a thing, it is done. It remains only to get the members of the family together, and since most of them are the same sort of people as there are in this room, there is little difficulty in getting them together on any question.

The day before yesterday we discussed the definition of a tenement house. Cleveland did not say anything about it then, because she could not, but she can now. I have here a copy of the proposed Cleveland code, which, it is needless to say, is based upon the same old model, that is, the New York code.

The definition provides that a tenement house shall include a house occupied by two or more families. When I brought this down I did not know whether it would go through or not, because Mr. Marani was not with us. He now tells us that he will stand for this definition; he is the only remaining member of the family who was not with us, and although he does not know it, the principal reason he came down was to be convinced on that point. Without any question that will go through. As I say, most of the city officials are members of our little family, and when they are not members we usually try to educate them and bring them into our circle. For instance, Miss Chadsey sent one of her inspectors over to the chamber of commerce office, and when he went back he said: "I wish you'd send me over there again; that's a pretty fine place."—"Why is that?" "They treat you so all-fired fine there."—"What do you mean?"—"Well, I will tell you; it makes a rough-neck like me realize what an old goob he is anyway, and makes him want to do better." I should suggest the family method of dealing with all the "rough-necks" and "goobs."

MR. DAVIS:

We have been trying the family method in Columbus. While we have not been able to do things so successfully as in Cleveland, the method has worked passably well, except in relation to the members of our board of health, who are not progressive.

A good deal has been said here by representatives from different cities regarding the conditions in their home cities, sometimes contrasting them rather favorably with those found here. I do not think that those of us living in Columbus desire to do that. We are willing rather to face our sins, and to repent of them; the remembrance of them is grievous unto us. We have unsanitary tenements and unsanitary small houses. We have some conditions that we should be much more ashamed to have you see than those you have shown us here, the difference being that your tenements are five stories high and ours are three and four. There is one encouraging feature about it all, and that is that the people have discovered it and are bound to have something done about it.

There are two features about the work there that I think are worthy of mention. One is that we have attempted to make our laws apply to the smaller houses. If we had not made our housing code provide for the single and double house, we should have failed to reach at least half of our bad conditions. There was no question about it; we simply could not stop with the tenements. We had to look after the small house, and we did so.

Another thing in Columbus has been done recently, and that is to provide for municipal collection of all ashes, rubbish and stable manure. That is quite a step forward, we believe. Some of you who are planning that work may be interested to know that a company offered to make a ten-year contract for the use of the stable refuse, which would cover all expense of collection. The city council has appropriated the money, and collections are now being made. We have some of those mountains of ashes in the back yard, as we have had no collections of ashes and rubbish except those for which scavengers were paid.

I fear some may have drawn the conclusion from remarks that I have made that we have the dirty foreign family in our small house. I want to correct that. It is not they who are making the trouble in Columbus, but the degenerate native-born Ohioans. I want to say this, not because the foreigner is never dirty, but because we have just as dirty American people.

I want to pay my respects to Chicago for the things that she did in setting the standard at two families, and for keeping the height of non-fireproof buildings down to three stories. I believe that if we could not have swung as a club that "Chicago did it, and if they can do it there why cannot we do it in Columbus," we should not have been able to do these things ourselves, but we have got them now and we are glad of it.

MR. FRANCIS M. KENNEDY, Chairman Board of Health, New Bedford, Mass.:

We are proud of our city, and we never throw it down. We collect garbage and ashes in New Bedford, and we think we do it well. We get many points from Boston, too, and our board of health is efficient. I dislike to contradict flatly anything that

has been said, because I do not want to sound a jarring note, but I do know that the Boston board of health has been effective.

MR. BERNARD J. NEWMAN, Secretary Housing Commission, Philadelphia:

In some ways Philadelphia has the best type of housing to be found in the United States. In 1895 the tenement law was passed which made it practically impossible for the tenement type of building to be constructed; for all buildings over four stories have to be fireproof. We cannot have the monstrosities which you have here in New York. This law came at the right moment, for it checked the construction of buildings of many stories and caused the builders to keep on developing the small dwelling. We have, therefore, some 200,000 small dwellings and less than 10,000 tenements. You are all familiar with Miss Parrish's article setting forth these facts.

But we have our housing problem, although our people are housed in small buildings; there is no law governing the small building, in so far as an inspection is concerned. The result is that we have vile sanitary conditions, surface drainage to the building line and to the street; we have the iniquitous privy vault and thousands of yard toilets; we have houses built on the rear lot and dilapidated buildings. One block which we set in model for a city-planning conference had one hundred and fifty-five houses, sixty-five of which were rear houses, some of them built on alleys three, five and eight feet wide. They are of the horizontal tenement type, or as some one has called them, of the band-box type, one room to a floor, and three floors high. Police supervision of the alleys on which these are built is bad. Crime is prevalent. But our particular problem is one of sanitary inspection. We need a housing code which will do for Philadelphia, what I think we are all expecting the Columbus housing code will do for the small houses there.

MR. GRANGE SARD, President Albany House Building Co., Albany. N. Y.:

We in Albany did not start early with the housing problem. It was only this last winter that we were successful in getting

Mr. Veiller to come to Albany, wake us up and start a feeling that we must have organization and do something. I think the function of the National Housing Association is not simply to accomplish results here in New York but to awaken us all over the country.

We have been undertaking in Albany, first, to change our local laws so that we may rectify the great evils existing in the houses built for one family and turned over to three and four families; and next, to correct the sanitary requirements. We have also organized a company to build small houses, for one family preferably, on the outskirts of the city. The houses that we build we will rent or sell at cost. We are trying to establish homes. We have no conditions there such as you have in New York, we have no large tenement houses and we are trying to build houses as cheaply as possible, and to get into smaller houses the people who live in tenements originally intended to be occupied by only one family.

MRS. BACON:

The amateur housing reformer is, I think, much like the man who let the imp out of the bottle, and after he got it out could not manage it or get it in again. That is one reason we come here, to find out what to do with it. We come here, too, to tell our troubles, and to get help and sympathy.

I want to warn anybody making a tenement law to arrange to leave the city immediately after, because it is no joke to go back to your own town and meet all the consequences; to have plans brought to you for inspection, and to have the friends you meet at teas and in church come to you and say: "We set our hearts on building our flats a certain way, but of course, if it is not in accordance with your law we would not do it, and we are trying to be open-minded, and see things your way." I met a woman in a street car who said, "I hear you were looking at our houses. They are all right, though, just the nicest kind of single houses. We wanted to build flats, but we couldn't, under your law, so you will find they are all right." It took my breath, because I didn't know she was building any houses. It's no joke when you cannot go abroad without having your actions watched.

There is one encouragement I can offer to all housing reformers. If they persevere and succeed, they will be entitled to an epitaph something like this:

> "This stone was raised by Sarah's lord,
> Not Sarah's virtues to record,
> For they're well known to all the town,
> But it was raised to keep her down."

MR. S. P. WITHROW, Cincinnati:

Cincinnati has not grown much, but it will continue to grow, I am hopeful. We have in Cincinnati apparently a good tenement-house code that was gotten up by several of the organizations uniting there. But to have a code and to have it effective are two different things. We are using every means possible to bring influence to put that code into force, and when we do Cincinnati will begin to grow and look up and look better.

I feel that much educational work must be done before we ask our city officials to do this thing and that thing, even to the extent of enforcing a law upon the statute books. We have in Cincinnati an anti-tuberculosis league, and the members appreciate how much housing has to do with tuberculosis and the death rate. They have taken a personal interest in this conference and in its work.

I have in the hands of the printer in Cincinnati a circular that we are going to distribute through the agency of the industrial insurance companies, intended to enlighten the tenement-house dweller as to what are his rights and duties. We tell him that his liability to tuberculosis to-day is twelve times as great in the slums of Cincinnati as it is in other portions of the city, and then we proceed to tell him why it is, and to talk about dirt and lack of plumbing and drainage, and bad water and vault conditions. We take each subject separately and tell him its bearing upon the subject, and then we tell him the law. If these men know the law, the public officials will have to enforce it. That is our method of procedure in Cincinnati. The Anti-Tuberculosis League is also making a strong endeavor to have the board of health budget double what it is at the present time. They have not enough inspectors, and neither has the department of health,

so we are trying to have the inspectors in each department increased. We feel that in Cincinnati we are on the way to have something done.

MRS. J. D. HAMMOND, Nashville, Tenn:

Housing reform in Nashville is not yet beyond its initial stage; we are just beginning to investigate.

The peculiarity of the housing situation in the South is that our slums are not confined to the cities. We have them all over the country as well as in the city. Wherever you find negroes you find slums; and you find slums among the immigrants in our coal fields and our lumber camps.

I thought yesterday, when it was said that the bottom of the housing question was the education of tenants, that it was not so with us. In Nashville I am told that some of the slum tenement property nets the landlord as high as twenty per cent. The way to deal with the problem is not simply to educate the tenants; the community must be educated; the landlord must be educated sometimes before we can do very much with him; and it is an educational campaign through the South that the women whom I represent are hoping to start. There are 100,000 of them in the Southern Methodist Church; we are well organized and we have societies in nearly every southern town and village. We have been doing social service work and settlement work for more twenty years, and we think the time has come to take up these great questions and try to coöperate, not merely with other churches, but with women's clubs and any other social or philanthropic organizations that exist.

The first thing, we believe, is to learn conditions. We intend that our women in these places shall see what the housing conditions are in their own immediate vicinity, and see what they are for black people as well as for white. We stand, as southern people, squarely on the ground that the negroes and the white people must keep apart socially always; but we do see that underneath race separation there is a community of interest that goes deeper than any separation ever can, and that the welfare of the two is bound up together; and that we cannot have the kind of communities that we should have in the South

until the negroes and their children, just as much as the white people, have an opportunity to grow up in moral and physical strength.

MR. TODD:

Lawrence is a mill city of about 86,000 in Massachusetts, on the Merrimac River. It is fortunate in having a long-established philanthropic fund, known as the White Fund. In June, 1907, one of the trustees of this fund had some correspondence and conferences with Mr. Robert A. Wood, the object being a social survey of Lawrence. The matter fell through until last summer, when, at the suggestion of Mr. Clark Carter, whose work is like that of charity organization in Lawrence, the trustees again took up the matter and secured Mr. Frances H. McLean for advice and adopted his report. In it he suggests that the examination for this year have as its principal subject housing, and as its minor subject health and general sanitation. The housing examination began last January and will be comprehensive. Six half blocks, the most crowded in the city, have been examined, and a partial examination has been made on another method, making special studies of certain types of houses scattered in the semi-circular district lying around the mercantile district. The result of this housing examination will be ready in the early fall.

Lowell has had a social survey made by one man, one of the pastors, which covers several topics and has an exceedingly interesting chapter on housing. The copy will be with the Macmillans within a few weeks, and it is expected to be published early in the fall.

Haverhill, though a city of only 44,000, has caught the spirit of these two cities which are so near. It has a federation of men's clubs, which organization I am told is responsible for the fact that Haverhill was the first city in New England to adopt the commission form of government. This federation has recently passed a resolution to raise money for a social survey in Haverhill.

MR. L. A. HALBERT, Board of Public Welfare, Kansas City, Missouri:

In 1907 Kansas City passed a so-called local code based largely on the underwriters' code, and appointed a tenement commission with an investigator. Their investigator worked nearly a year, and during that time secured considerable improvement in houses so far as he was able to go, investigating something like one thousand houses. He had about forty houses torn down and a large number of houses repaired.

Then the political aspect of the government changed, and later, while the tenement commission existed nominally, they did not have any fund to employ an investigator; but a year ago a board of public welfare was established and the work was passed over to that board. The board has been carrying on an investigation during the past year with four or five investigators, and they have inspected carefully, going into as much detail as you saw exhibited on the cards at the office of the New York tenement-house commission, inspecting in that detail about six thousand houses. The president of the board of public welfare warned us that the city did not care much about the investigation, and wanted to know what the investigation was for, and whether we intended to do anything about the things that we found. We are in the same situation that the tenement commission was, namely that our function has been to make complaints and lodge them with the health department and the building department. We have placed something like two thousand complaints, some of them probably not coming within the law; but over six hundred houses, to our knowledge, have been improved, some at an expense of several hundred dollars, so we assume that over twenty-five thousand dollars worth of improvements have been made in housing conditions as the result of this work which cost about $3,500.

The division of the work between the investigators of the board of public welfare, the board of health and the building department is not always easy to draw, but in a general way the condition of old houses is turned over to the board of public welfare, whereas the construction of new houses is left to the oversight of the building department, and we have compara-

tively few rooms that cannot have light and air, with the people using the facilities that are at hand. We have many complaints in regard to sanitary conditions. The remarks of the gentleman from Columbus in regard to the new system instituted there for gathering garbage and refuse reminds me that the City Club of Kansas City has to-day as its speaker at the noon luncheon the gentleman who has charge of the gathering and disposition of the refuse of Columbus, to tell us how we should do it there. That really is one of our pressing problems. Our water and sewerage system has not been extended to nearly all the houses even in the older parts of the town, because the owners say that the houses are not worth the cost of modern plumbing. If a house is not worth modern plumbing it is not good enough for people to live in.

MISS VIRGINIA MCMECHEN, Charity Organization Society, Seattle:

Seattle has a population of 285,000. Across the bay stands the city of Tacoma with a population of 85,000. These two cities, so close together, comprise a joint population of 370,000.

Seattle is mainly a city of frame buildings, although brick and stone are rapidly being substituted, especially in the business sections. Seattle has no tenements in the strict sense of the term. It has, however, a housing problem. Many of our old residences are being converted to tenement uses. Several families are frequently found living in one building and the "lodger evil" is rapidly on the increase. Seattle has a large transient population, and many of its old rooming houses are questionable from the standpoint of good housing conditions. We have an excellent board of health with about twenty sanitary inspectors. Several years ago, during a bubonic plague scare, the board of health took radical measures in the extermination of rats. At this time two incipient slum districts were completely burned down. These districts lay along the water front in what is known as the tide flats. The tenants of these old shacks were given about two months to vacate. Most of them found homes, without charitable assistance, in other sections of the city.

An important factor in the Seattle housing problem is what is known as the regrade. It consists in the leveling of many of the hills on which the city now stands. This is done chiefly by hydraulic process. Many of us think that it would add to the beauty of the city if these hills were landscaped rather than razed. The point about the regrade that particularly interests the housing reformer, however, is that several incipient slum districts have been entirely removed by the cutting down of certain hills.

At present the Pacific Coast is facing the greatest emergency in its history. This is the immigration problem which the opening of the Panama Canal will bring to us. Seattle is preparing to meet this problem commercially but as yet our people do not recognize the seriousness of the situation from a social standpoint. We feel that the word "Seattle" is synonymous with the word "opportunity" for the housing reformer.

MRS. GRAY:

I hear that there are some slides showing the Panama conditions. It would be interesting if we could get hold of some photographs of the Panama situation "before and after," for educational purposes.

MR. BALL:

Some of you perhaps may not know that this inquiry of Mrs. Gray comes out of some things I said privately to her about Colon and Panama and Port Limon, three cities which I had the pleasure of seeing in March, and any one of which is cleaner than any ward in the city of Chicago. I also said something about the significance of sanitation on the Isthmus, and particularly the improvements shown in the hospitalization from malaria.

When the American occupation began some years ago one workman out of twenty was taken every week to the hospital suffering with malaria. That hospitalization has come down to one in four hundred. Of course there are other facts perhaps not quite so striking as that, but the general mortality rate on the zone last year, men, women and children, black, white and

yellow, was about the same as the rate in the city of Providence, R. I.,—under sixteen to one thousand.

MR. VEILLER:

We have had the metropolitan sewerage system for about six years past. Some of our best engineers and public-spirited physicians, such as Williams and Sloper, have been trying to deal with the question of polluted harbors, making scientific investigations, showing that the tide does not carry away the sewerage, and that harbors and rivers are filling up. They also made experiments at the mouth of sewers, showing that the infant death rates are much greater near the mouth of the sewers. They caught flies and counted the bacteria on the legs and bodies.

They have also organized an exhibition at our American Museum of National History, the first exhibition of its kind that I know of. The commission has no great powers except of an advisory and research nature. We have been seeking the aid of the War Department of the United States to prevent New Jersey from digging a tremendous new trunk sewer to empty into lower New York harbor. We are also fighting the Bronx sewer system, which was to dump sewage into the river. We are reaching the time when our river is going to have so large a proportion of solids that we can walk on it, rather than swim in it, and we must do something effective about it. What, of course, is necessary, is chemical treatment of sewage before it is emptied into the stream.

MR. JOHN IHLDER, Field Secretary, National Housing Association, New York:

In Wisconsin I believe they are even ahead of New York. They have forbidden towns to dump the raw sewage into the river. The cities that lie around Lake Michigan have entered into an informal union by which they bring together the health commissioners, who have held several meetings. As yet, I believe, they have done nothing very effective, but they have aroused public interest and have educated their communities. In Michigan, one of the towns below Grand Rapids has begun suit against that city for dumping sewage into the river.

MR. BALL:

I think the full significance of the movement for the purification of Lake Michigan has just begun to be seen. The cities that lie around Lake Michigan are in three states, none of which can properly control the pollution of a great body of water, and that means intervention by the federal government.

Seven years ago, in Chicago, there was absolutely no appreciation in the public mind of the ultimate failure of the Chicago drainage canal, carrying the waters of Lake Michigan down the Illinois River, as the means of sewage disposal. Everybody seemed to think that the canal would do forever, but there has now come to exist some appreciation of the fact that that will be impossible as a proper method of disposal for more than a relatively few years. The drainage commission is now spending a great deal of time on the specific problems of the treatment of the sewage of Chicago, so that they will know exactly what to do with that sewage when it can no longer be discharged to the south. The organization of the cities and states bordering on Lake Michigan, with the coöperation of the federal government, to secure the purity of Lake Michigan, is one of those important achievements that have come to pass in the last five years.

MR. ALDRICH:

In Detriot we are at present trying to learn about taking care of ashes and waste. I believe the majority of those interested are at the present time in favor of compelling the householders to build permanant receptacles of either brick or cement inside the lot line so that we can easily handle the contents. There are some opposed. I would like to hear from anyone who has a suggestion to offer.

MR. VEILLER:

I think the whole matter is summed up in this question: Do you want the poor to hoard the garbage or not? In other words, is it a desirable thing to keep that waste upon the premises or is it desirable to get it away at once? It is like the vault question. In the vault they hoard the human excrement, and

we all recognize that that is a bad thing. We want it got away at once, through a system of sewers and closets. The same thing applies to garbage and other forms of waste, especially garbage. As long as the garbage stays there it means the fly, and it means weakened vitality, and it means rats and all kinds of unpleasant, sordid and squalid things. There is no reason, it seems to me, for keeping garbage on the premises for more than a single day.

If a city is so poor that it cannot remove garbage once a day, or once in two days, then it ought to be so arranged that the people can burn it. It is true that there is an unpleasant odor to it when it is burning, but that is preferable to keeping it on the premises.

We saw in St. Louis just what you are proposing, and it struck us as most barbaric, a big masonry vault in which people stored their garbage for five or six months. Why is not the system in vogue in New York perfectly practical for every city in the country? Compel the householder to provide a garbage can of metal, and require that can to have a hinged cover, and then have your street cleaning department—whether you do it yourself as a city or do it by contract—required to remove that garbage once in so often. I would say that the ideal is once a day, and that the absolute minimum is once a week, not once in two or three months or six months.

And I would say further, we all of us ought to lay stress on the point that it is far more important for a town to remove garbage frequently from the tenement district than it is from the best residence districts. They do make pretty frequent removals from those, but it seems that the poor are of no account, and they are permitted to have the stuff accumulate. What practical obstacle except money is there to that scheme?

MR. ALDRICH:

We have a good garbage collecting system. If anyone is skipped more than one week, it is because the driver is sick and a new man is working on that route. In building receptacles they should be large enough to contain the garbage for a certain number of days and the department of public works should

gather it, not allowing it to remain longer than one week in any part of the city. We never could get money enough appropriated to take the garbage every day in all parts of the city. At the present time we take the garbage twice a day from all hotels and restaurants, and down town within the half-mile limits twice a week; outside the mile limit it is taken once a week. We have our alleys, and people think they are for the purpose of taking care of all refuse—ashes and garbage. What we now want is a better receptacle for garbage. There is no trouble about our department taking care of it if it is placed in proper receptacles but at the present time many throw their garbage into the alley. We are bound by contract with the reduction company not to give them garbage with more than 10 per cent of foreign matter in it. As a result much of the garbage is carried out with the alley refuse. I hope some plan may be suggested here to apply to a city with alleys.

MR. VEILLER:

Why would not the system of the metal garbage can about two and a half feet high apply? Keep them in the rear of the lot with a separate can for ashes, if you want it. They can be wheeled out and dumped into a cart.

MR. TUCKER:

It seems to me that in most of our small American cities and communities the two fundamental problems we are struggling with are garbage and sewage disposal. In our little city of New Rochelle on the Sound we are face to face with this situation. The state board of health has notified our city authorities that it will approve of no more sewage-disposal works or main-trunk sewer or sewers of any kind that provide for the dumping of the sewage into the waters of the Sound. That brings us face to face — and we are a rapidly-growing community — with the problem of sewage disposal. We have no sewage-disposal plant, and the majority of our sewage is discharging itself into the Sound. We have a garbage-collection system, but the garbage is not destroyed. It is spread on private land in one district, and when the wind blows from a certain direction the

most expensive portion of our city gets the full benefit of the accumulated flavors. Now we come down to the practical question of how we are going to handle those things under our system of government.

Two years ago, under the then existing administration, a proposition was made for a garbage disposal works. The administration attempted to get a bill through the legislature, on account of our inadequate charter, authorizing the expenditure of a certain sum of money for the building of a garbage disposal works, but the opposition political body did not approve of the system of garbage disposal that they proposed to use. Immediately came the rival claims of rival constructors of garbage disposal works, espoused by rival political parties. We, without technical knowledge, were interested only in having an efficient disposal works, and were willing to provide the money, and we fell between those stools. We have no disposal works to-day.

My practical proposition is the same one I made yesterday afternoon. What we want is authoritative knowledge put out by some disinterested body, similar to the Metropolitan Sewage Commission, and my suggestion is that Mr. Veiller's association make an investigation of the claims of different disposal works, for both garbage and sewage, so that the interested citizens of our communities shall have some authoritative record when the case in dispute comes up as between rival political factions and rival neighborhood factions.

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The fall meeting of 1911–12 was devoted to Business and the Public Welfare, and the spring meeting to Organization for Social Work. The proceedings of the former meeting were published in full in the January number, those of the latter will appear in the July Proceedings.

Communications regarding the Academy should be addressed to **The Secretary of the Academy of Political Science,** Columbia University.